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HISTORICAL BULLETIN

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THE RELIGION OF RIZAL*

By Ricardo R. Pascual

Seeing that you are all interested in this question of Rizal's religion, I am not very sure whether the topics I am going to touch on are the very matters you would like me to take up. I do not know what particular points you have in mind. Nevertheless, I have here certain points which I would like to present to you from my own point of view as one who has dealt with Rizal's life for quite some time. I would like to invite you to analyze what I deem can be imputed and attributed to Rizal, even if I am not myself sure now, because I cannot ask Rizal. He is dead.

All he had left us are his writings which are subject to various interpretations. And on matters of interpretation, well, who can be sure? A lot of semantical confusion could enter into a very simple word. How much more if it is a lengthy speech or a lengthy writing?

With this warning, I would like to present to you what I consider can be imputed to Rizal from my own point of view. However, before we proceed, I would like first to clarify certain matters that may serve to confuse issues if we are not careful about them. Our attitude towards Rizal is quite a very special one, much more special, shall we say, than our attitude to our parents — our own father or mother — or our own brother. Because, Rizal is considered a very important figure in our national culture. So much so that whatever Rizal did has a special significance to us now. And I would like to clarify that very point.

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* Speech delivered before the U.P. Christian Youth Movement on August 28, 1959.

Because of this attitude, it is possible, unless we are very careful (and I hope we are), to mistake the religion of Rizal, if he had any, for our religion. The danger is great. We certainly would like Rizal to have as his religion what we ourselves like to have for our own. Conversely, we would like to have as our religion whatever Rizal's religion was, provided that in determining the latter we have a hand in it. Very rarely are we disposed to be very objective in finding out Rizal's religion, due to this subconscious impulse on our part.

This danger is very great because if we do not make a distinction between ourselves and Rizal (I hope we do), nobody would be more unfortunate than we are. We like to share with the heroism and greatness of a man like Rizal; we forget that our sharing is vicarious, not real. We cannot be Rizal; at best, we can only approximate Rizal.

Now, with this premise, I would like to insist that we are talking about *the religion of Rizal*, not about our religion, yours or mine. If you grant me this perspective, and I hope you do, then I will be very sincere with you. I am going to talk about Rizal's religion, regardless of your own, and regardless of the feared implications upon you. So that, the question which has bothered a lot of you, shall not have to arise at all.

Whether it is Church versus Rizal or Rizal versus Church, who cares? You have your own religion. You have your own church. Forget Rizal as far as your religion is concerned! But now all we want to know is what the religion of Rizal was. If that is very clear, then I shall proceed.

I would like to dwell on this point, first. In the life of Rizal many things had happened. You may remember that he was born in the Philippines. Presumably at this time, at the moment of his birth, or maybe two or three days after, he had to be baptized. He must have been a Catholic! Nobody would discount that point. But I would not call that the religion of Rizal. Rizal was only 3 days old, 5 days old, or maybe a week old. But being born into that culture Rizal, therefore, had to undergo that cultural transformation. He was baptized a Roman Catholic.

Let us grant that he had been a Catholic up to the age of 21, the time he left the Philippines for abroad, on May 3, 1882 to be exact. He had been a Catholic all these years while studying in Manila. Among his circle of friends before he left the Philippines he must have been known as a Catholic. Then, he left the Philippines. And as far as I am concerned, what happened to Rizal in the Philippines before he left for abroad was not very extraordinary, so I will not dwell on that. His religion at the time up to the age of 21 was just an ordinary thing in the Philippines. It happens to most of us. It was not very special, but he made the most of it. In fact he was considered a very good member of the Marian Congregation. I would say that in his devotion to his religion, to his Church, Rizal must have been excellent!

Then, he left for abroad. And according to Retana, as soon as he breathed the free atmosphere of Spain, in Madrid and Barcelona, new things happened. He came in contact with a lot of people, with scholars, more specifically Spanish scholars. He was reading many kinds of literature, various kinds of books. He was exposed to new things, which could not happen to him when he was in the Philippines. That must have made a lot of difference.

And remember too, that when Rizal was in Spain, he was pursuing two courses — one, a course in medicine and the other, a course in philosophy. He finished both courses: in one, the equivalent of the Master of Arts in Philosophy which was "Licentiate in Philosophy," and in the other, the "Doctor of Medicine."

As a student of philosophy, what do you think he was in contact with?

In the Philippines, he must have been reading Thomistic philosophy because he was pursuing the A.B. course. While Thomistic philosophy borrowed very heavily from Aristotle, I believe he did not have the chance to read the original works of Aristotle, such as Aristotle's metaphysics, Aristotle's politics, Aristotle's poetics, even only in translation. His philosophical contact must have been limited to Thomistic and other Catholic writings. But when he went to Europe, it was a different thing. And he did not stay in Spain only. He travelled. He went to France, he went to Germany, to Belgium. And what do you think happened? He was in contact with a lot of cultured persons and enlightened people.

Our story is beginning to unfold a different pattern. The new development is in contrast with what he had had when he was in the Philippines. This is quite biographical. But let us assume that a lot of things happened in the life of this man up to the end of more than three years of exile in Dapitan.

Let us now look at him, as it were, at the end of the trail. In this connection I would like to call your attention to the fact that Rizal was becoming older. But, while we do not identify maturity with just age, I am sure, he was becoming more mature, because he was coming to think more independently. And it is for this reason that I would like to think that when Rizal wrote, of his own free will, of his own accord while still in Dapitan, the four famous letters to Father Pablo Pastells, he was expressing voluntarily, freely, what he thought in his mature judgment was his stand on some rare but very significant subjects. And this was at almost the end of the trail of his life.

Of course, before this, he had expressed his ideas in his "Noli" and "Fili," in his commentaries on Morga's *Sucesos . . .*, in his "Indolence of the Filipinos," "The Philippines Within A Century" and in his various articles in *La Solidaridad* on similar issues. But what appear to me to be more precise, to be more pertinent to what you would be more interested in when you talk of religion, were embodied in those four letters to Father Pastells, besides, of course, what were not covered by these letters but were already covered by the other writings of Rizal on religious subjects. But I shall draw heavily from Rizal's letters to Father Pastells.

Unfortunately I could not get hold of the letters of Pastells to Rizal. I wish I could. In their absence, all I could do was to reconstruct the arguments between Pastells and Rizal. The best that I could do was to deduce from Rizal's own expressions what Pastells might have said and to which Rizal's statements were answers. This, again, is very indirect. Nobody can be very sure of the exactness of imputations. So, the best that can be done was to reconstruct Pastells' arguments, which must be the Catholics' stock arguments, taken from *Catholic Encyclopedia* and other sources with the *imprimatur* to express the Catholic doctrine. I embodied this reconstruction in a chapter called "Philosophical Controversy" in the little book, I wrote sometime ago, entitled *Rizal Beyond the Grave.* I admit that my method of dealing with this was indirect, well, because I was not in a position to get hold of Pastells' writings. I wish I could lay my hands on them now.

I will not take you into the controversy. I will take you, instead, to the constructive thinking of Rizal on the subjects which were raised in those communications between Pastells and Rizal.

The first thing that occurred to my mind was: What did Rizal say of Catholicism? In a letter, the fourth that Rizal wrote to Pastells, on April 4, 1893, he made this statement:

> All of the brilliant and subtle arguments of yours, which I do not treat to refute for I would have to write a treatise,(1) cannot convince me that the Catholic Church would be the one endowed with infallibility.

Rizal continues to tell Pastells:

> In her also [in the Catholic Church] are the human 'finger prints'; she is an institution more perfect than others, but human to the end, with the defects, errors, and vicissitudes of the works of men. She is wiser, more ably guided than other religions, as she is the direct heir to the religious, artistic, and political science of Egypt, Greece, and Rome; she has her foundation in the hearts of the people, in the imagination of the multitude, and in the love of women; but like all, she has her obscure points which she cloaks

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(1) Not that Rizal could not refute them but that it would take him a long time to do so. We know that he was writing a personal letter, and a treatise is out of place in a letter.

> with the name of mysteries, childishness that sanctifies miracles, divisions or dissensions that are named sects or heresies.

I do not have to explain that. I think it is simple enough. That is how Rizal regarded the Catholic Church. *Not an infallible one!*

Well, but what did he think of the Protestants?

I think this question is pertinent, since you belong to that sect or denomination. Anyway, Protestantism is a movement arising out of Catholicism. To Father Pastells again who accused him of being a Protestant, Rizal wrote in his second letter, November 11, 1892:

> If you would know what I have lost for not declaring myself a protestant, I would not say any similar thing. Not always to respect the religious ideas, to take for me religion as a science of convenience or as an art of being well in this life, instead of being a poor deported, I would now be rich, free, and you would see me heaped with honors. Rizal, a protestant! A loud laughter dances merrily within my breast that only the respect for what you said can contain.

He was not a Protestant. Remember that girl whom he wanted to marry, who demanded that he change his church to become a Protestant? Well, he did not!

That was the reference to what he had lost. Suppose he had married Miss Boustead, he would have been a Protestant. And he did not have to come home to the Philippines. He would have been in Germany, somewhere, and become, perhaps, an authority on some subjects. Perhaps, he would be well-known to us as the first Filipino who would have gained renown in foreign land.

But no! Instead, he came home and was then deported. Then, from deportation to Bagumbayan was just a matter of a few months. That was Rizal!

But what did he think of the native religion? Let us remember that Rizal was a student of Philippine history and Philippine culture who read a lot, unlike many of us who do not bother to read beyond the Spanish times or who do not even read about the Spanish times. I do not think that many of us bother to read much even about anything. As a student of culture Rizal selected Morga's *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* and wrote commentaries on it which he published so that his people — the Filipino people — would be able to get at least the testimony of one who was not as much biased as other writers who had, for one reason or another, written their bias against the Filipinos. Well, what did Rizal think of the religion which in "The Vision of Friar Rodriguez" his own pen made Tasio in conjunction with non-Catholic personages like Zarathustra, Voltaire, etc. to represent? What did he say?

Again, let me quote. In his "Vision of Friar Rodriguez," Rizal said, in the mouth of Zarathustra:

> Tell them [the friars] that Paganism in its widest and most corrupt sense only signifies polytheism; neither my religion [speaking of Zarathustra's religion, as well as Tasio's, which I take to be the religion that Rizal was referring to as the religion of the forefathers before the coming of the Spaniards], nor that of Moses nor that of Mohammed were pagan religions.

Let us not forget that this Moses' religion, Mosaic, or the Mohammedan's, and Tasio's were non-Christian; and it was the habit of some Spaniards to refer to anything non-Christian as "pagan." On which account Zarathustra was protesting: "neither my religion nor that of Moses nor that of Mohammed were pagan religions." Nor were they polytheistic. They were monotheistic; not different from the Christian religion; not different from the very religion that the Spaniards brought to the Philippines and to which they converted *en masse* a lot of Filipinos who did not understand the first syllable of the ministry of that religion at the time they were converted. Now, imagine the mass conversion in Cebu. I leave that matter of history to you.

And yet, there is the encounter between Elias and Ibarra created by Rizal himself. Remember the *Noli*? The scene in the lake? Elias was asking Ibarra to help. They came to a point where Ibarra had to justify, to defend the position of the church and the friars in the Philippines. Remember that scene? And what did Ibarra say, referring to the importance of the church and the friars to Philippine culture, about which they claimed to have introduced culture and civilization into the Philippines — "a savage country" as they called it? Existing churches are evidence of this claim. Ibarra emphatically claimed:

> Will the Philippines have forgotten what she owes these religious orders? Will she have forgotten the immense debt of gratitude to those who have taken her out of error in order to give her the faith, to those who have protected her from the greedy encomenderos, to those who have helped her against the tyrannies of civil power? Here is the evil of not being taught the country's history!(2)

To this Elias, surprised that Ibarra could speak thus, replied, among other things:

> ...You said that they have given us the faith and taken us from error! Would you call faith these external practices, religion, this commerce in scapulars and cords, truth, these miracles and stories which we hear every day? Is this the law of Jesus Christ? For this there was no need for a God to be crucified, nor for us to be obligated to an eternal gratitude. The belief existed very long before; it only needed to be improved and the price of the merchandise be increased. You might say that although imperfect our present religion is preferable to that which we had. I believe and am convinced of that; but it is very costly, since for it we have renounced our nationality, our independence. For her sake we have given her priests our best towns; and we have given even our savings through the purchase of religious objects. They have introduced to us an article of foreign industry and we have paid well; so we are even . . . . (3)

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(2) MSS. *Noli Me Tangere*, p. 359.

(3) *Idem.*

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Rizal's pen was the one that wrote those considerations of culture and civilization, because he knew that the belief, the religious belief, was there before the coming of the Spaniards. "*Bathala*" became, in the language of the Spaniards, "Dios", in Jewish, "Yaveh". What was "*Laon*" among the Visayans was "*Bathala*" among the Tagalogs. The worship of saints was the equivalent of "mag-anito", the worship of parents. This was not hero-worship but piety for parents, a sort of parental worship. Because, as Rizal himself demonstrated in his life, the parents were the "second god on earth". In fact, Rizal was not known to have directed a letter to his father. That is the old Filipino custom. The father was the "head" of the family and the "second god on earth". One does not address God directly. Our ancestors made capital of that and Rizal even carried it as far as his relation to his father. Today, we do not address God directly either. We do it through somebody. You can choose your *abogado* — your patron-saint as your spokesman.

Now then, Rizal was neither a Catholic nor a Protestant. Perhaps, he was just expressing or he was speaking for the native religion, but I do not think he would embrace that, himself. I have my own theory on that. In fact, when Elias, the spokesman of that kind of culture, was sacrificed by Rizal in favor of Ibarra at the end of the *Noli*, I think Rizal was already showing his hand — he was indicating a preference. That preference was for what? For the Ibarra-culture!

Rizal sacrificed the Elias-culture in favor of the Ibarra-culture. But what was the Ibarra-culture? The modern culture (then) coming from Spain brought home by the Filipinos much as Ibarra did come home to the Philippines. Therefore, I would not think that Rizal was really a convert of "Paganism" in the language of the friars, or as Tasio would say, "of my own religion".

So he was neither Protestant, nor Catholic, nor Pagan. But he was still a Mason, until the so-called alleged retraction which I will not go into tonight. Because, masonry is not a religion at all according to the Masons. It is an association for some purpose, for some objective, not a religious one because they admit into it many persons who belong to different churches.

But then, what is the positive belief of Rizal? Well, I would say that he was a rationalist. What do we mean by that? First, I would establish the point that he was a rationalist. Balaguer, himself, the priest who claimed to have converted Rizal on the night of December 29, claimed that Rizal admitted to him that he was a rationalist. But I would not take the word of the friar. I will take the word of Rizal. And this is what Rizal said to Father Pastells, when Rizal was defending his position, that of believing the individual judgment, individual reason. Of course, he was castigated by Father Pastells, because that position cannot be tolerated in the Catholic Church. No, "Salvation is by hearing, not by reading." You have to hear. From whom? From the interpreters of the words of God. And you know who they are!

Rizal said: "No, I believe in my individual judgment, in my individual reason." That makes him a rationalist! But let us hear from him further. In protestation to the castigation of Father Pastells on this particular stand, Rizal wrote in the fourth letter to Father Pastells:

> You call ignorant pride that of the rationalists. A question occurs to me yet, who is more ignorantly proud he who is contented to follow his own reason [rationalism] or he who pretends to impose to others what his reason does not dictate him but only because it seems to him to be the truth [Catholicism]?

Can we answer that question? That was Rizal's question to Father Pastells. Who is more ignorantly proud between the two — he who is contented to follow his own reason or he who pretends to impose on others what his reason does not dictate to him but only because it seems to him to be the truth? Well, I will not dwell much on that. I will leave you to search for yourselves the meaning of Rizal's words. I am just giving you the opportunity to hear Rizal's words.

Now, of individual judgment. Why did he have so much faith or confidence in individual judgment? Let us see what he said. Again, this time in his first letter to Father Pastells, Rizal wrote:

> And I speak as such [referring to his defense of individual judgment, and *amor propio* — self-esteem], because I figure that God, upon giving to each one the judgment he has, has done what was most convenient to him [to the individual] and God does not wish that he who has less should think as he who has more and vice versa, such as, one ought not to digest with the stomach of his neighbor, but as machines, perfect, varied, and well adapted to the end that God knows, each one ought to consume so much coal in its furnace, to run so many miles, and to have such velocity.

Each to his own, in other words. You are not expected to think like Einstein, because you may not have ability to do so. Why break the machine? So everybody is given the responsibility to think within the capacity that he has and it is not his fault that he has less. . . well, individual judgment is relative to the person possessing it. On the same matter, he wrote:

> For me, the judgment [individual judgment] is a lantern that the Father gives to each of his sons before a peregrination through rough and winding paths.

That is the life that each has to live, that peregrination through rough and winding paths. This judgment is the lantern that God gave, according to Rizal. But, besides judgment, he says there is conscience.

In his fourth letter, he wrote thus:

> He [God] ought to create me for a good end, and for this [end] I do not have any other better thing to guide me than my conscience, my conscience only that judges and qualifies my acts.

Well, that was Rizal's position. Individual judgment! Conscience! If you see any similarity between your faith now and Rizal's, why, be happy about it! So rationalism, as far as Jose Rizal is concerned, is based on individual judgment or reason and conscience.

Of course, what Rizal probably did not know at the time is what the sociologists are now telling us: that our conscience is not God-given, but a product of the culture in which we find ourselves. A very good illustration of this is what happened to two American professors. A geographer, Professor Pittman and a Professor of English, Professor Conklin, went up to the Mountain Province in order to look over the beauty of the mountain province. At that time, just after liberation, these non-Christian people became very wild, having reverted to head-hunting during the Japanese occupation. Poor Pittman, with his beautiful blonde beard, and lovable Conklin became victims of head-hunting. Now, do not tell me that the conscience of these people was not at all involved when they committed this act. You see, head-hunting was accultured to them as part of their cultural development of long ago but which civilized culture suppressed for quite sometime. However, given a chance during the lawlessness of the Japanese occupation, that part of their culture flared up once more. The two harmless professors became poor victims of that particular cultural situation. But Rizal, in his time, thought that conscience was the voice of God. Well, that was the old traditional belief anyway, and I will not quarrel with him on that.

Let us now talk of what Rizal thought of the Bible and the Gospel. In the "Vision of Friar Rodriguez," speaking through Tasio again (Tasio was the embodiment of Rizal's beliefs or thoughts when it came to matters of philosophy, matters of religion) Rizal said thus:

> It is well that he [one of the friars] like all other fanatics, believe that they [Bible and gospels], form only one thing but I, who have studied the Bible in the original Hebrew(4) know that it [the Bible] does not contain the gospel [because it consisted of the old testament only]; that the Bible being a Jewish creation, history, treasure and patrimony of the Jewish people, here the authority is the Jewish people, who do not accept the gospels, that the Latin translation [Vulgate] being inexact in some points, wrongly would the Catholics give here the law [the authorized interpretation], they who pretend to avail themselves of that which is not theirs, and to interpret it in their manner, for their favor, the translation, altering the spirit of the texts.(5)

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(4) Rizal could say that. He read Hebrew. It was not Tasio, for Tasio is a fiction.

(5) You know how translations suffer for whatever reason.

> The gospels, less that of Matthew, besides being written in Greek, are of late and, in essence as in fact, they cast away the laws of Moses, the proof of which is the enmity between the Christians and the Jews. *Why, then, knowing all this, have I to speak as a fanatic and an ignorant friar? I do not exact that a friar should speak as a free-thinker;* they should neither exact that I speak as a friar.

Would you want any more confession of his stand? Rationalist, free-thinker! But remember, free-thinkers are of various sorts. There are atheistic free-thinkers and theistic free-thinkers. We will find out to which group Rizal belonged.

As a philosopher, and as a student of human affairs, Rizal was a student of cultures and beliefs. Since beliefs have figured very much in people's lives, and "God" has loomed very much in the beliefs of people, Rizal could not help but study about God. His study about God was not to be belittled or ignored. What Rizal wrote speaks for itself. In the third letter to Pastells, January 9, 1893, he wrote thus:

> Penetrated with that vague but irresistible sentiment before the inconceivable, the superhuman, the infinite, I leave its study [the study about God] to clearer intelligence; *I listen in suspense to what the religions say;*(6) and incapable of judging what overcomes my forces, *I content myself in studying Him in His creatures, my brothers;* and *in the voice of my conscience that can proceed only from Him.* I endeavor to read and guess His Will in what surrounds me and in the interior mysterious sentiment that I feel within me, whose purity I procure above all things in order to act according to it. *Many religions pretend to have condensed and written in their books and dogmas His Will, but which, apart from many contradictions, from varied interpretations regarding words, from many obscure and unsustainable points, my conscience, my heart cannot admit.* How could He [referring to God], Who has foreseen very wisely and paternally for His creatures what are necessary in this life, go to conceal what is necessary for eternity *in the mists of a*

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(6) "Listen in suspense" means no partisanship, no affiliations.

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> *language, unknown to all the rest of the world, obscured by metaphors and facts contrary to His own laws?* He who makes His sun shine for all and circulates the air to all parts to substantiate the blood; He who has given to all *intelligence and reason* to live in this life, could He hide from us what are necessary for Eternity? What would we say of a father who heaped for his sons dainties and toys but would give food only to one, educate him, and support him? And what if it results afterwards that his elected one rejects that food while the others die looking for it?

What kind of father is that? Will you answer that question of Rizal? What do you think of a mind that asked that question? And yet, do they say that he retracted? The nerves of some people, I tell you!

Now, how about Rizal's notion about revelation? Revelation, you know, is a part of the mystery about religion. I do not know if your Protestantism entertains revelation but I know some churches do. Rizal was occupied by this matter that is why we should ask, What did Rizal say about revelation? In the fourth letter to Pastells, he says: "I do not believe that Revelation is impossible. . ." began Rizal. Anyone who knows logic ought to know why Rizal said that. To say that revelation is impossible is to know not only what is not, but also what cannot be. Logically speaking, what is not is not there, how, then, can anyone know it? So Rizal being modest said:

> I do not believe that Revelation is impossible; before, I believed well in it, but not in the revelation or revelations that each religion or all religions pretend to possess. Upon impartially examining, comparing, and scrutinizing them, one cannot less than recognize in them all the human 'finger prints' and the stamp of the time in which they were written.

So the revelations claimed by each or all religions were determined by the culture in which these revelations appear. You understand? I do not know whether Rizal knew what Marx said about cultural determinism: that even your thoughts are determined by cultural forces, principally by economic forces. Rizal's claim on cultural determinism is less specific than that of Marx's theory.

Further on in the letter, he said:

> I believed in the revelation but in that living revelation of Nature that surrounds us everywhere, in that voice, potent, eternal, incessant, incorruptible, clear, distinct, universal as the Being from whom it proceeds [that is conscience]; in that revelation that speaks to and penetrates us since we are born till we die. What books can reveal to us better the goodness of God, His love, His providence, His eternity, His glory, His wisdom? *Coeli enarrant gloriam Domini et opera manum ejus annunciat firmamentum* — The heavens relate the glory of God, and the firmament announces the work of his hand. What more Bible and gospels does Humanity need? Ah! Father... Do you not believe that men have done wrong in looking for the Divine will in parchment and temples instead of looking for it in the works of Nature under the magnificent vault of Heaven? Instead of interpreting obscure passages or ambiguous phrases that provoke hatred, wars, and discussions, was it not better to interpret the works of Nature to fashion better our life to her inviolable laws, to utilize her forces for our perfection? When have they begun to make men brothers, besides, when have they consulted the first page of the work of God? Like the prodigal son, who, blind before the happiness of his paternal home, has to look for other strangers, humanity has roamed miserably and was full of animosity through many centuries.

There is Rizal for you. These were his thoughts on revelation!

Well, *truth* is an item that no church, no religion, no denomination can escape. *Truth* is the selling point (pardon the words) of any church, of any religion. It is the selling point even of science today, the selling point of any doctrine, the rallying point of any movement. Everybody claims the *truth*, even if nobody can tell us, for sure, how to discover or to recognize *truth*. Therefore, Rizal could not escape from talking about *truth*. Let us hear what he has to say about it. So let me give you what Rizal said in his second letter to Pastells.

In this letter to Pastells, Rizal said:

> I imagine men in their study of truth as the students of design who copy a statue [like painters]. Sitting around it [the statue], some much nearer, others much further, who from certain height, who from below, see it in different manner, and how much more are they polished in being faithful in their designs as much as they are distinguished from one another.

The study of truth is just like copying a statue from various points of view. That is Rizal's theory. There are various kinds of truths that he recognized. You may not accept this theory of his, but that is not the point. Let us hear what Rizal said:

> Do not tell me that the truth seen from all points of view always presents the same form; that would be for Him who is in all parts [for God only, and Rizal was talking of truth for man]. For us, only the mathematical truths are presented in that manner which are like plane figures. But the religious, moral, and political [truths] are figures of extension and profundity, are complete truths and the human intelligence has to study them through parts.

The study of these moral, religious and political truths, which are complete truths, is like copying a statue! A statue is a complete statue but when you look at it from one angle, it appears only as a part-statue, you do not see the other parts. Rizal continues:

> And if it is very difficult to be placed at the same point of view as of others in the material world, how much more in the moral, which is complicated and hidden? From this manner of looking, I infer that nobody can judge the beliefs of others taking for the norm [standard] his own.

So one cannot say: "You are wrong, I say so." This is Rizal's criterion. You may not agree, and I would not care whether you agree or not.

Let us approach the subject of *God.* What did Rizal say about *God?* In Rizal's fourth letter to Pastells he said: "Well then my 'faith' in God, if the result of thinking could be called faith, is 'blind', blind in the sense that it knows nothing [about the nature of God]." When he tells you he knows nothing, do you expect him to tell you more?

What about God and miracles? People have been talking about miracles as the work of God, etc., etc., etc. What did Rizal say on this matter? Let me quote again that very important fourth letter which contains a lot of things:

> Regarding the explanation you give about miracles, that He who dictated the laws does not contradict himself upon suspending them [laws] for determined period, in order to pursue some ends, I imagine that if He does not contradict Himself, He is inferior to that who can accomplish the same ends, without suspending anything nor altering anything.

Is one who is changing the process of things to achieve a purpose superior to another who accomplishing the same end does not institute change because he has foreseen everything? Well, look at this conclusion of Rizal:

> A *regular governor* only gets rid of the step of suspending the efficacy of the laws, a *good one* governs in peace without altering or upsetting anything.

Do you accept that God produces miracles by suspending natural laws? Well, Rizal said, let us grant that; but he is inferior to the other One who accomplishes His ends but does not alter anything. Now what? When you have to choose between two kinds of God, which one would you select? The superior or the inferior? Rizal is challenging you to select your God, you know.

I would like to take up the position of Rizal regarding Christianity. I will give you what I can get from Rizal's letter only. I admit that these letters were written before the 29th of December 1896. No one can be sure of what actually happened on the fatal night of December 29, 1896, although some people think something happened. For me, this man, Rizal, who wrote the famous letters to Pastells was more important than that Rizal who was shot in the early morning of December 30th, if ever anything as fatal as the retraction happened to him before daybreak!

Now, of Christ and Rizal. I assume that when Rizal formed his ideas about Christ and communicated the same to Father Pastells he knew that he was not just writing to the said priest; he must have known that his thoughts registered too for God whom Rizal believed in. What he said of Christ was, therefore, accepted by him as his own responsibility and for which he believed to be answerable. In this context, if Christ were God, no fear or desire to curry favor ever influenced Rizal in saying what he did say. I cannot accept that when Rizal wrote to Father Pastells he was only writing to a priest about Christ and did not mean what he said if made to answer for his statements. In fact, since Rizal believed in God and possibly the hereafter in his own way, he must have weighed the risks in his statements, so much so that in his saying them he decided his own fate through his reason. Entertaining no fear or danger of damnation on the side of truth and what he believed to be reasonable, Rizal, in uttering the following statements to Pastells, could not but have written them in all candor and sincerity. In the all-too-important fourth letter to Pastells, he wrote:

> I cannot believe that before the coming of Jesus Christ, all of the people would be in profound hell of which you speak; precisely they are not there, Socrates who died for declaring the existence of one God, the Divine Plato, the virtuous Aristides, Focion, Milquiades, Zarathustra, the founder of the religion of force, Kung-Sien, the founder of the religion of reason, the legislator of China.

These people could not be in hell. They were the ones who helped give progress to the world, and who will send them to hell? I personally would prefer to go there if there I will meet Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, . . . who would not join such illustrious company?

Let us read further in the same letter:

> Neither could I believe that after Jesus Christ all would have been light, peace, and happiness, that men for the most

> part would have turned just; no, there are the battle-fields, the fires, the blazes, the prison cells, the violations, the torments of Inquisition [and if he could only speak after his death, he would have said, *my very unjust death*] to give you the lie; there are the hatreds that the Christian nations profess to one another for little difference, there is the tolerated slavery, besides being sanctioned by the Church for eighteen centuries; there is prostitution . . . there is, in the end, a great part of society hostile to the very religion. You will tell me that all this exists because it has been separated from the Church; but when has it dominated the latter? What has not had these evils? Perhaps in the Middle Ages when all Europe was a field of Agramante? In the first three centuries, when the Church was in the catacombs, groaning like a prisoner and had no power? Then, yes, was peace; she [Church] never had it either; it was not due to her, for she did not decree it [peace]. Ah, no, my dear Father . . . , I am glad to see men like you, full of faith and virtues and lamenting on the *actual disgrace of humanity* [mark the word, it is not original sin or whatnot], because that proves a love for it [humanity] and that, generous spirits like you watch its future; but more am I glad when I contemplate humanity in its immortal march, progressing always in spite of its aberration, for this demonstrates to me a glorious end; it tells me that it has been created for an end better than for being a pasture of flames; that fills me with confidence in God, who will not let his work be lost in spite of the devil and our foolishness.

Well now, on the most important point: The mission of Christ. Did Rizal accept the Mission of Christ? Let me quote from the fourth letter again:

> Regarding the contradictions of the canonical books, of the miracles, I am confident that the question is very trite, and vexatious to repeat. All is explained when it is desired and all is accepted when it is wanted. The will has an enormous *power* over the imagination and vice-versa. As such, I shall speak to you not of the contradiction in the genealogy, nor of the miracles in Canaan that Christ performed in spite of having said that his hour has not arrived yet, nor

> of the bread and the fish, nor of the temptation, etc. [do these not show that Rizal knew many objectionable things about Christianity and not only against Catholicism?]; all these things do not belittle the virtue of him who pronounced the Sermon on the Mount and who said the famous, 'Father, pardon them.' What I shall deal with is something more transcendental. *Who died on the Cross? Was he God or was He Man*? If he was God, I do not understand how God can die, as a God conscious of his *mission* can exclaim in the garden [of Gethsemane], *'Pater, si possibile transeat a me calix ista'*—Father, if possible, pass over me this chalice [is this not a regret, nay a virtual retraction of Christ's mission?] — and to return to the exclamation on the Cross, 'My God, My God, why have you abandoned me?' This cry is *absolutely human,* the cry of a *man* who had faith in the justice and goodness of his cause; minus the *Hodie mecum eris* — Today, you shall be with me — all those cries of Christ in the Calvary announced a man in torment and agony; but what a man! *For me, Christ the Man is greater than Christ the God.* [What a rational paradox!] If he would have been God, He who had said, 'Father, pardon them, for they know not what they do,' those who have put hands on him ought to have been pardoned, lest we would say that God appears to certain men to say one thing and then do another.
>
> Another objection that I encounter in the miracles of Christ is the apostasy of his disciples and their incredulity before his resurrection. Those who have been the witnesses of many marvels and the resurrection would not have forsaken him very cowardly and would not have doubted his [Christ's] resurrection. He who can return life to others can well give himself the same [life].

From the above discussions we can get a glimpse of Rizal as a mind, expressing itself on religious matters. If one were to write a "mento-graphy" of Rizal the above thoughts deserve their rightful place in such an undertaking. Rizal's position at the pinnacle of leadership among the Filipino people is certainly buttressed by his intellectual achievements, if by nothing else.

But these intellectual achievements cannot be complete without these profound thoughts on religious and philosophical questions which are rarely and not widely known among the Filipinos of whom he was the foremost leader. If these thoughts were among those which Rizal was supposed to have retracted, if he did, certainly his intellectual achievements would be less than what they actually were before the fatal questioned retraction. In this context and at any moment after Rizal's death, those of us, Filipinos, coming thereafter would have to make the momentous decision to face a dilemma or to avoid one in making our stand on what is to be imputed to Rizal. Rizal is now beyond the grave, we who are yet before the grave have to choose on how grave an error we want to make about Rizal!

# # #

BEFORE OSMEÑA BECAME SPEAKER

By Carlos Quirino

Sergio Osmeña will be remembered in our history not so much as the President of the Commonwealth Government but as the Speaker of the Philippine Assembly, the first truly representative legislative body ever created in the history of our country. By the skilful way he managed the Assembly he won the grudging admiration of Americans that Filipinos were capable of self-government, and initiated the long process that led to the establishment of the third Philippine Republic in 1946. How he ruled Philippine politics for two decades with an iron hand, artfully concealed by a velvet glove, is worth studying and emulating by our present-day politicians who would want to excel in their profession.

The decade preceding his election to the Speakership, from 1897 to 1907, is most interesting because these years reveal the preparations Osmeña made in his rise to prominence and leadership among his countrymen. However, his activities in Luzon during the revolution have appeared in a previous issue of the *Historical Bulletin*, and we shall confine ourselves to that period when he was a newspaper publisher in Cebu.

Young Osmeña returned to Manila late in 1899 after his stint as courier and secretarial assistant to the fugitive revolutionary government. General Emilio Aguinaldo was then in full flight from the advancing American forces, and Osmeña knew that it was only a matter of time before he was either killed or captured to put an end to the rebellion. But was the end of the armed revolt the end of all Filipino aspirations to become a free people? Osmeña's active mind refused to accept such a defeatist answer, and the next few weeks in Manila were spent seeking a solution that would satisfy the nationalistic fervor burning within him. The adage that the pen was mightier than the sword kept uppermost in his mind, as the nineteenth century came to a close. Had not the immortal Jose Rizal, the noble Marcelo del Pilar, the daring Lopez Jaena and other valiant heroes kept the struggle for freedom alive by writing endless articles and publishing the fortnightly *La Solidaridad* a generation ago? The newspaper publishing field in Manila was already crowded: there were more than a dozen periodicals in existence, reflecting varying shades of political opinion. But Cebu offered a virgin territory: the Spanish news weekly *El Boletin de Cebu* had ceased publication with the termination of the Spanish regime, and there was a definite need for another to take its place.

Thus did Sergio Osmeña return to Cebu early in 1900 to embark on a journalistic venture that marked another step in his progress to national leadership.

Two problems faced him in his desire to start a newspaper in Cebu: the lack of a suitable press and printing plant, and the absence of a suitable staff to help him edit it. He was fortunate in solving both obstacles quickly. The liberal newspaper *La Opinion* in Manila had gone bankrupt and the owners were willing to sell its printing machinery, type and other equipment. In his future father-in-law, Nicasio Chiong Veloso, he found a wealthy backer who had unlimited faith and confidence in him. Osmeña effected the purchase of the machinery for about ₱30,000 and, by February of 1900, was ready to sail for Cebu with all the equipment, accompanied by a printer, mechanic and two type setters.

He was fortunate in finding two capable editorial assistants, who became his trusted lieutenants later in politics: Rafael Palma and Jaime C. de Veyra. The latter had been his classmate at the university who had gained some renown as a historian and a journalist. Palma, who had graduated from Santo Tomas University as a lawyer a few years ahead of them, was the best known of the trio: he had been on the staff of the celebrated journal *La Independencia*, the official organ of the Philippine revolutionary government, and with the death of its founder, General Antonio Luna, had become the publisher. The pay was little: it is a tribute to their patriotism and Osmeña's persuasive powers that they took the job.

The name of the newspaper was not hard to select. What could be more appropriate to signify their hopes and aspirations than *El Nuevo Dia* (*The New Day*)?

The trio soon found that the task of publishing a newspaper in Cebu was very different from that in Manila. In Manila, publishers printed their periodicals pretty much as they pleased, subject only to the laws of libel and good taste; but in Cebu the American military authorities had clamped censorship on everything that was printed.

So while the press and other machinery were being installed in a rented warehouse on what is now Comercio Street, Osmeña worked on the military authorities to grant him the necessary permit to publish a daily newspaper. Colonel E. J. McClernand was the commander of the military district of Cebu and Bohol, while his secretary, Captain Frank McIntyre, was the censor. Many years later, Brigadier General McIntyre served as chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs which had charge of Philippine matters under the War Department in Washington, D. C.

That interview, the first in a series with American officials, revealed Osmeña's technique in dealing with them: he was frank without being blunt; he was diplomatic in his choice of words without giving offense; and he was tactful without being evasive. The colonel wanted to know more of the proposed publication — would it be for the purpose of disseminating information? Yes, Osmeña replied, but it would also publish news of a political nature favorable, of course, to the ideals of the Filipino revolution. But, the American officer pointed out, insurrection was practically over to all intents and purposes, and America was now the sovereign power. Yes, Osmeña insisted, precisely because of America's history, constitution and tradition of freedom she could not hold the Philippines forever; later on, she would have to return the government to the Filipinos; meanwhile, why should not goodwill prevail between Americans and Filipinos; why not lay the foundations for future collaboration between the two races? Why not try to bring together those who, until very lately, had fought together to free the Filipinos from the rule of Spain, and thus work together for the progress of the country?

"All right," the Colonel said finally, "you can go ahead; but I want you to know that I will not allow any obstruction to. nor any hostile act toward, the American government in these islands."

"I promise not to do that," Osmeña said.

"Remember that Cebu is under a military government, and any transgression of military laws would subject the transgressor to military discipline."

"Very well, Colonel. But I also want you to remember that to be free is an inherent right. I and my newspaper will fight within the law for the recognition of this right!"

The first issue of the first daily newspaper ever printed in Cebu appeared on April 16, 1900, when *El Nuevo Dia* made its maiden bow. It was a four-page regular-sized periodical in Spanish, but containing a side-by-side translation in English of the news column. The first editorial was captioned "Nuestros Derroteros" or "Our Course" and explained the purpose and ideals of the new journal. Osmeña termed the war between Americans and Filipinos as "an unfortunate misunderstanding." What they wanted was the dawn of "a new day" for the Filipinos. The first rays of this day had already appeared when Spanish sovereignty in the islands was terminated and Americans had helped Filipinos to see these first rays before the rupture of relations between General Merritt and Aguinaldo. What the newspaper wanted, the editorial continued, was a resumption of the two people working together in perfect accord, and not the breeding of ill will nor the sowing of distrust; in seeking the progress and social welfare of the Filipinos, *El Nuevo Dia* would seek harmony with the Americans; it would fight what was bad and encourage what was good; and it would seek a high moral standard toward the attainment of its national aspirations.

The three friends alternated writing editorials where they could advance the nationalistic cause of their people. They soon found how hard it was to turn out a newspaper everyday, six days of the week, and were often hard pressed for news.

"All three of us were of the same conviction," related Palma in his autobiography, "and we worked with equal zeal and enthusiasm for the ideal of Philippine independence."

Working with a censor breathing down their necks made their task doubly difficult — but with that much more of an obstacle to overcome. They had to weigh their words carefully and had to omit phrases that would prove objectionable to the censor. Once, they ran short of material to replace a censored article. Rather than fail to meet the deadline, the types of the censored article were turned over and a black spot appeared in the column where it was supposed to have been printed. Whetted by curiosity, the people of Cebu soon bought out all the copies of that issue. The editors were delighted over their accidental discovery — the newspaper's circulation had increased tremendously! The system of reversed types proved expedient — the greater the number of censored articles, the more columns appeared in black — and the more buyers that issue found! Captain McIntyre was irked. He warned the editors not to repeat the offense, but pressure of time in meeting the deadline forced the editors to do it time and again. After all, the editors told the censor with an injured air of innocence, they had complied with censorship regulations.

After one of these incidents, Osmeña called in person on the commander of the American forces in Cebu.

"I came here to present myself — before your men arrest me," he announced.

The Colonel could not help smiling to himself, albeit grimly. He had no desire to make a martyr of any Filipino, and to arrest a newspaper editor would be to do just that. Osmeña, who had been brought up under the Spanish atmosphere, was really surprised to hear that he would not be confined.

"Unless you disregard censorship regulations and publish that which the censor has stricken out — you won't be jailed," warned the military governor.

Finally, the exasperated censor, Captain McIntyre, ordered the suspension of *El Nuevo Dia* from publication.

"The suspension lasted only two weeks," related Palma, "because diplomatic gestures by Osmeña brought results and the publication was resumed. Osmeña demonstrated even at this early period his great ability for managing people. There was nothing in which he got interested that he did not obtain. He knew how to get results by careful planning."

El Nuevo Dia spread its influence beyond the island of Cebu. Copies circulated in Bohol, Leyte, Surigao, Misamis and Negros Oriental, but the military authorities in these places forbade their reading. So hidden copies were carried in *bancas* and *batels* or sailing vessels, and whenever American sea patrols discovered them they were confiscated and dumped into the sea. When the editors protested, Cebu military authorities blandly claimed that since the publication permit was only for Cebu, copies could not be circulated elsewhere, and hence were subject to destruction. The newspaper became so popular among the Filipinos that the revolutionary committee in Hongkong considered it as the mouthpiece of the rebel cause and a worthy successor to the defunct *La Independencia*. *El Nuevo Dia*, as de Veyra much later termed it, was the organ of the Philippine revolution "with white gloves."

The staff members of the newspaper were suspected by the military authorities of insurgent activities. Rebel troops still controlled the areas outside of the leading towns in the province where Americans had established garrisons, and had their numerous sympathizers and spies within the American lines. On half a dozen occasions, American soldiers searched the newspaper's premises for incriminating evidence — but found none. The editors were not lawyers and future barristers for nothing.

In December of that year, 1900, Palma had to return to Manila on account of illness in the family. Both Palma and de Veyra had worked for almost nothing — all they got was free board and lodging — and yet they did it gladly, because they were young and quixotic and because they felt they were serving the cause of their country. They got friends in Manila, renowned poets like Fernando Guerrero, Cecilio Apostol and Jose Palma, to contribute original poems for free. Filemon Sotto, a young Cebuano writer, joined the staff as a proofreader later in the year.

Aside from occasional clashes with the censor, Osmeña got on remarkably well with the American authorities in Cebu. He slowly developed an admiration for their sense of fair play. This admirable quality was exhibited by the newcomers during the first elections for provincial governor in 1901. Military authorities supported a certain candidate, but the editors favored General Juan Climaco, the revolutionary chieftain who had sent Osmeña to contact President Aguinaldo in Luzon two years earlier. Climaco had surrendered after the deadline set by the local electoral rules and he lived some 20 miles away from the city; it was imperative that he be contacted immediately to secure his consent in filing his candidacy on time. The military governor not only permitted Osmeña to use the official army telephone but amended the electoral rules to permit the general's candidacy. The colonel secretly sympathized with a fellow soldier. With the backing of *El Nuevo Dia*, the general handily won the gubernatorial berth.

"The most important campaigns launched by our newspaper," Osmeña later summarized, "were those defending the capacity of Filipinos for self-government, their aspirations to be free, and the inherent right of a nation to shape its own destiny. Such historical dates as July Fourth, Washington's birthday and Rizal Day were taken by us as propitious occasions for insisting on those ideals."

Two years later, in June of 1903, *El Nuevo Dia* ceased publication, partly because its financial resources had been exhausted and partly because its founder had left six months earlier for Manila to take the bar examinations.

# # #

LIFE AND LABORS OF FRAY ANDRES DE URDANETA

by Alberto C. Morales

When one speaks of the permanent settlement of Cebu in 1565 which paved the way for the Spanish conquest and colonization of the Philippines, he invariably associates the event with Miguel López de Legazpi. It seldom occurs to him that without one particular man who guided and directed the Legazpi expedition to its destination, the subsequent occupation of the Islands could not have been effected. Where others failed, i.e., the fleets of Loaisa, Cabot, Saavedra, and Villalobos, due in large measure to faulty navigation, Legazpi's armada succeeded because it had the good fortune of having at its helm Fray Andrés de Urdaneta—soldier, writer, priest, and foremost navigator of his time.

Early Life. Andrés de Urdaneta was born of noble descent in Villafranca de Guipuzcoa, Spain, in 1498, the son of Don Juan de Ochoa Urdaneta and Doña Gracia de Cerain. In deference to the wishes of his parents who wanted him to take priestly vows, he devoted his early years to ecclesiastical studies. But, when they passed away, he abandoned the pursuit of a religious career in favor of the more exciting life of a soldier. Joining the military ranks of the Spanish king, Charles I (also known as Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire), he distinguished himself in campaigns in Italy and Germany, emerging from the wars with a captaincy. Returning to Spain, he spent his time studying mathematics, astronomy, and cosmography, and acquired such other knowledge as was to serve him well in his later maritime career. (1)

With the Loaisa Expedition. Fired with ambition and love of adventure, typical of the many young men of the period, Urdaneta next joined the Loaisa expedition as one of the ships' accountants.(2) Loaisa was dispatched to the East by Charles I "to reap the fruits of Magellan's discoveries." The voyage proved to be a disastrous failure due to Portuguese hostility and to the lack of discipline. Starting out with seven ships and about 450 men from Coruña, Spain, on July 24, 1525, the expedition was reduced to three ships and to only 120 men (Urdaneta was one of them) by the time it was blown off course by contrary winds from Mindanao to Tidore in the Moluccas. Landing on this island, the Spaniards formed alliances with the native chieftains, erected a fort to defend themselves from the Portuguese, and awaited whatever aid might be coming from Spain.(3) Their hopes of being rescued soared when, in 1528, the Saavedra expedition found them. It turned out, however, that Saavedra and his men were just as helpless as they were.(4) The years that followed saw the survivors of both voyages harassed by the Portuguese. Realizing the futility of further resistance, they surrendered in 1536 and were allowed to return to Spain on Portuguese ships via the Cape of Good Hope.

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(1) Footnote reference in *Colección de documentos inéditos de ultramar* (Madrid, 1886). Segunda Serie, Vol. II, p. 98. (Hereinafter cited as: D.I.U., II.)

On disembarking in Lisbon, Urdaneta suffered persecution because of his reputation of being strongly anti-Portuguese. He managed to escape a penalty unjustly meted out by the Portuguese authorities. Subsequently he made his way to Valladolid, Spain, where the Spanish court was located at that time.(5) To Charles I, he submitted a written report on the Loaisa expedition, describing, among other things, the wealth and treasures of the Philippines in glowing terms. He recounted that north of the Moluccas was the island of Mindanao where there were much gold and large quantities of pearls and cinnamon, and still north of this island was Cebu which also contained gold deposits.(6)

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(2) Footnote reference in Francisco Colín's *Labor Evangélica,* (Madrid, 1663, Pastells edition, Barcelona, 1900-02), p. 148. Urdaneta is also mentioned as one of Loaisa's officers in William Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York, 1939), p. 19.

(3) "Relaciones del viaje hecho a las islas molucas . . . hecho por el Capitán Andrés Urdaneta" in Luis Torres de Mendoza. *Colección de documentos inéditos* (Madrid, 1866), Vol. V, pp. 5 *et seq.*

(4) Juan de Medina, *Historia de los Sucesos del Orden de N. Gran P. S. Agustín de las Islas de Filipinas,* originally written in 1630, published in Manila, 1893, as Vol. IV of *Biblioteca histórica filipina,* p. 12.

(5) Joaquín Martinez de Zúñiga, *Estadismo de las Islas Filipinas* (Sampaloc, 1803). Wenceslao Retana's edition, Madrid, 1893, p. 621.

Not long afterwards, the sea once more beckoned to his venturesome spirit. He left Spain to take up residence in Mexico, a much disappointed man because some of his recommendations were not heeded by the royal court.(7)

While the Loaisa voyage was, on the whole, a disastrous enterprise, for Urdaneta the years of hard work that he put in were not entirely fruitless. He gained navigation experience which later prompted Philip II to choose him as chief pilot of the epoch-making Legazpi expedition.

Offered Command of the Villalobos Expedition. After reading Urdaneta's stirring account, Charles I, who, earlier, had given up hopes of establishing an empire in the East, regained interest in the Philippines. Ignoring his obligations to Portugal by virtue of the Treaty of Zaragoza (1529), he ordered Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of Nueva España, to prepare an armada for the conquest of the archipelago.(8) The supreme command of the expedition was offered by the viceroy to Urdaneta in 1542 but the latter declined, explaining that he could not accept the terms of the commission because of his desire to retire to a life of peace and quiet.(9) Consequently, Ruy López de Villalobos, brother-in-law of the viceroy, was appointed general of the fleet which left the port of Navidad, Mexico, on November 1, 1542. Like his predecessors, Villalobos failed to accomplish his mission.

Entered Augustinian Convent. In 1552, tiring of the world after years of soldiering and sailing, Urdaneta donned the habit of St. Augustine in the famous Augustinian convent of Mexico and sought in a cell the tranquillity which, until then, he had not found in his otherwise ruffled, adventurous life. The following year, he took his religious vows.(10) Thereafter, he dedicated himself thoroughly to his religious career. However, this life of serenity and repose was destined to be short-lived.

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(6) Mendoza, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

(7) Antonio de Morga, *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas* (México, 1609). Wenceslao Retana's edition, Madrid, 1909, p. 578.

(8) Zúñiga, *op. cit.*, p. 622.

(9) Medina, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

(10) Martín Fernandez de Navarrete, *Colección de los viages y descubrimientos,* Vol. V, in Emma Helen Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, 1493-1898 (Cleveland, Ohio, 1903-09), Vol. II, p. 33.

With the Legazpi Expedition. The Villalobos fiasco left Charles I a disillusioned and broken man. In 1556, he abdicated in favor of his son, Philip. Two years later, he died without seeing his dream of a Spanish empire in the Orient realized.

To Philip II goes the credit for the successful implantation of the Spanish flag over the Philippines. On September 24, 1559, he took initial steps towards the realization of his father's colonial ambitions when he instructed Luis de Velasco, the second viceroy of Nueva España, to undertake measures for the permanent occupation of the Philippines. Velasco was to send two ships to the Western Islands (Philippines) without, however, infringing on Portuguese rights over the Moluccas. Apparently, the king was laboring under the erroneous impression that the Philippines which lies farther west than the Moluccas was on the Spanish side of the demarcation line fixed by the Treaty of Zaragoza; and yet, at the same time, he acknowledged Portuguese possession of the Moluccas.(11)

On the advice of Velasco, the king wrote Fr. Urdaneta, inviting him to join the proposed expedition:

> I was informed that you, as a layman, were with the Loaysa expedition, passed through the Straits of Magellan and proceeded to the Spice Islands where you stayed for eight years . . . On account of your knowledge of the affairs of that region, and as a good cosmographer . . . I ask you to go with the ships and do whatever the viceroy will order you to do . . . (12)

The contents of the letter took Urdaneta by surprise. He was reluctant to go back to the turmoils of the world, but in those days a royal invitation was a command. Urged by the viceroy to accept the trust because of the importance of the expedition and the spiritual advantages that could be derived therefrom, he replied that he must first seek the permission of his provincial superior.(13) When the latter offered no objections, he wrote the king on May 28, 1560, accepting the service imposed upon him despite his old age (he was in his early sixties) and feeble health.(14)

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(11) "Despacho que se embió a Don Luis de Velasco de la Nueva España . . .," *D.I.U.*, II, pp. 94-97.

(12) "Carta del Rey a Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta . . .," in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, p. 79 and XXIII, p. 123.

Immediately after, he took a keen interest in all details of the preparation of the voyage. The first problem he tackled was the matter of the route, destination, and purpose of the voyage. In his letter of acceptance, he had voiced objections to the king's proposition of colonizing the Philippines inasmuch as it was

> . . . evident and clear that the Filipina Island is not only within the terms of the treaty [i.e., Treaty of Zaragoza], but the point running eastward from this said island lies farther west than the meridian of Maluco.(15)

The Philippines was therefore off-limits to the Spaniards. Urdaneta advanced the opinion, however, that the ships may proceed to these islands with the sole aim of rescuing marooned survivors, if any, of previous expeditions.(16) As an alternate objective, he proposed New Guinea which legally belonged to Spain. He had discovered the islands with Saavedra in 1528 and from what he had seen at a distance, it displayed good harbors and had possibilities for settlement.(17)

Velasco, who was in complete accord with Urdaneta's opinions, wrote the king on May 28, 1560, recommending New Guinea in lieu of the Philippines.(18) The king, aware that Fr. Urdaneta would refuse to embark if the fleet were to sail for the Philippines, deluded the Augustinian into believing that he was in favor of the recommendation,(19) although his heart was set on occupying the islands. He could not afford to displease the good friar, knowing full well that the latter's services were indispensable. Consequently, in 1561, Urdaneta sent a memorial to the king in which he mapped out several possible routes, depending on the time of departure. All of these routes had New Guinea as the terminus, the Philippines being considered only as a secondary objective point.(20)

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(13) Medina, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

(14) "Contestación de Urdaneta al Rey," in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, II. p. 81.

(15) *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

(16) *D. I. U.*, II, p. 110.

(17) Medina, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

(18) "Carta del Virrey de Méjico D. Luis de Velasco a S. M. . . ." *D.I.U.*, II, pp. 100-106.

(19) "Contestación del Rey a Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta," *D.I.U.*, II, pp. 118-119.

Juan Pablo de Carrion, who acted as head of the projected undertaking until his replacement by Legazpi, vehemently opposed the proposed route and destination. He was of the firm belief that the fleet should follow the same course by Saavedra and Villalobos and head directly for the Philippines, which abounded in food and offered great prospects for trade in marked contrast with New Guinea which he described as desolate and barren. Furthermore, the Philippines, lying on an upper latitude, provided a better location from which the charting of a return route would be relatively easier.(21) Subsequent events show his opinions prevailed when the voyage finally got under way.

Perhaps it was all for the best, considering that had the Legazpi expedition attempted to settle among the savage Melanesians of New Guinea, it might have met with the same fate as that which later befell Alvaro de Mendaña and his men who suffered from storms, hunger, and disease in their efforts to colonize the Solomons for Spain in 1568.(22)

Miguel López de Legazpi was appointed admiral of the fleet, but only after careful consultation with Urdaneta. In a letter dated February 9, 1561, Viceroy Velasco informed the king that no better man could have been chosen, for Legazpi and Urdaneta "are from the same land, and they are kinsmen and good friends, and have one mind."(23) Carrion, who was originally named for the position, was replaced because Urdaneta refused to have anything to do with the enterprise if it took the course outlined by the former. Throughout the entire period of preparation, the friar made various other suggestions pertaining to the expedition, showing his excellent judgment and practical sense.(24)

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(20) "Derrotero muy especial para dirigir a S.M., hecho por Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta . . ." *D.I.U.*, II, pp. 129-130.

(21) "Relación que el capitán Juan Pablo de Carrion. . ." *D.I.U.* II, pp. 205, 210.

(22) Schurz, *loc. cit.*

(23) "Copia de un capítulo de carta que embío el Virrey de Nueva España D. Luis de Velasco a S.M. . . ." *D.I.U.*, II, pp. 116-117.

When the fleet was about ready to sail, Viceroy Velasco died. His death notwithstanding, the preparation went on under the direction of the Mexican *Audiencia.* The change in supervision proved to be significant, for it resulted in a drastic change in the route and destination. The *oidores*, writing to the king on September 12, 1564, declared that Carrion's proposed route was more feasible if the principal aim of the voyage was the charting of a return trip to Mexico. True, they added, the settlement of New Guinea may turn out to be profitable, especially if the rumored riches should be discovered there, but it was inadvisable at the moment inasmuch as the route to that island had not been tried thus far. It would be folly to navigate in uncharted waters. Besides, they continued, the Philippines was on the Spanish side of the Zaragoza line.(25)

These arguments all the more convinced the king of the necessity and desirability of colonizing the Philippines. As a result, his final instructions ordered Legazpi to follow the route taken by Villalobos in 1542 straight to the islands, by passing New Guinea. The instructions were handed over to Legazpi under lock and seal, to be opened only after he had sailed 100 leagues from Navidad, Mexico.(26) This procedure had to be resorted to in order to forestall any attempt on the part of Fr. Urdaneta to make a last-minute withdrawal. It was almost certain that he would have backed out had he known of the change prior to the fleet's departure.

On November 21, 1564, three hours before daybreak, the expedition left Puerto de la Navidad. It consisted of the flagship *San Pedro,* with Legazpi and Urdaneta aboard; the ship *San Pablo,* captained by the master of camp, Mateo del Saez: the tender *San Lucas,* captained by Alonso de Arellano who later deserted the fleet; a small brigantine which the flagship carried by the poop; and 379 men of which there were 150 seamen, 200 soldiers, 5 ecclesiastics and some servants.(27)

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(24) "Derrotero muy especial . . ." *D.I.U.*, II, pp. 119-128.

(25) "Carta que escribió la Audiencia de Nueva España al Rey . . ." *D.I.U.*, II, pp. 200-205.

(26) Medina, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

(27) Morga, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

During the voyage, Fr. Urdaneta was entrusted with a threefold task.

Firstly, he was to pilot the expedition to its ultimate destination. Upon leaving port, the expedition steered a southwesterly course. After four days, the sealed orders were opened as per instructions. To his dismay, Urdaneta learned too late that he had been a victim of gross deception. He felt cheated, for he had always been given to understand that his views were to prevail. But, loyal vassal that he was, he decided to go on, consoled by the fact that everything was, in the end, for the spread of the Faith and the greater glory of God. Accordingly, he shifted to a course headed directly for the Philippines.(28)

On January 22, 1565, the Ladrones (now called the Marianas) were sighted.(29) Anchoring at Guam, Urdaneta proposed the settlement of the island, arguing that the return trip could be negotiated faster from there rather than from the Philippines. Legazpi vetoed the suggestion, for it was a direct violation of his instructions.(30) After an 11-day stay here, they continued on their journey, sighting the Philippines eleven days after, on February 13. On the afternoon of the same day, they landed on the island of Cibabao (Samar). The next few months were spent exploring the surrounding islands in search of an ideal site for settlement.(31) They finally decided to establish themselves in Cebu, acquiring the island through armed force on April 27, after Legazpi and Urdaneta had failed to obtain the friendship of Tupas, chief of the Cebuanos. With the founding of the city of Santísimo Nombre de Jesús (Cebu City), Urdaneta successfully completed his first assignment.

For his second task, Urdaneta was appointed spiritual adviser to the members of the fleet and at the same time prelate of those new lands to be settled, with the title of "Protector of the Indians." He was also commissioned by the Augustinian authorities in Mexico to establish the first branch of their brotherhood in the Philippines and to act as its prior.(32)

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(28) Medina, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

(29) "Relación circunstanciada de los acontecimientos y sucesos del viaje y jornada que hizo el armada de S.M., de que fue por General el muy Iltre. Señor Miguel López de Legazpi . . ." *D.I.U.*, II (hereinafter cited "Relación, 1564-65,") p. 233.

(30) "Relación, 1564-65," p. 246.

(31) *Ibid.*, pp. 251 ff.

Upon arriving in Cebu, Urdaneta and the five other Augustinian fathers with him immediately went about the task of erecting a church and convent and of making provisions for the conversion of the natives. For this pioneering work, the Augustinian missionaries have been styled the "vanguards of Christianity in the Philippines." Thus did Urdaneta fulfill his duties as spiritual leader.

Urdaneta's third assignment was a most important and dangerous commission. He was to seek a safe route for the return voyage across the Pacific to Nueva España (Mexico). Many skilled navigators had tried it and failed, some dying in the attempt. Shortly after the capture of Cebu, the *San Pedro* was fitted out for the return trip. Legazpi's youthful grandson, Felipe de Salcedo, was chosen commander, with Rodrigo Espinosa and Esteban Rodriguez as pilots, while Fr. Urdaneta was to take charge of the navigation as prearranged. To Urdaneta were entrusted letters to the authorities in Spain from Legazpi and the others who remained at Cebu.

Sailing from Cebu on June 1, 1565, the *San Pedro* steered a general northerly and easterly route. Upon reaching the Ladrones, it ascended to about 37-39 degrees north latitude, instead of sailing east, to avoid the east winds which prevailed in these waters. Thenceforth, it assumed a southeasterly direction, making full use of the westerlies that were to carry the ship over to the coasts of America. On October 1, after about four months at sea, the *San Pedro* lay off Puerto de la Navidad.(33) In the course of the voyage, Fr. Urdaneta drew charts showing the route taken, and indicating winds, points, capes, etc. These charts long remained as the guide of the pilots of the Manila-Acapulco galleons. Thus did Urdaneta accomplish his third assignment, a feat which many before him had sought without any success.

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(32) "Warrant of the Augustinian Authorities in Mexico Establishing the First Branch of Their Brotherhood in the Philippines—1564," in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-162.

(33) "Derrotero de la navegación de las Islas del Poniente . . . hecho por Rodrigo de Espinosa," *D.I.U.*, II, pp. 427-456.

His report before the Mexican *Audiencia* over, he proceeded to Spain. He rendered a full account of the expedition to Philip II, informing him of the services he had performed, of the state of affairs in the Philippines, of the need of dispatching help to Legazpi and his men, and of the misconduct of Arellano, commander of the *San Lucas*.

His Death. In recognition of Urdaneta's accomplishments, the grateful king wanted to shower him with honors and grant him favors, but the friar modestly declined all of them. Instead, he begged leave of the royal court to resume his monastic life in Mexico where he spent his last days, dying in a monastery almost at the age of 70, on June 3, 1568. (34)

Role in the Legazpi Expedition Evaluated. The question may now be raised: How true is the assertion that the Legazpi expedition would have failed without Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta? Without Urdaneta, the Legazpi expedition might well have joined the list of ill-starred Spanish voyages to the East. Several arguments can be cited to support this thesis.

During the five-year period of preparation in Navidad, it is a fact that Urdaneta was given blanket authority to choose the persons to man the fleet, including Legazpi himself; to decide on the port of embarkation; to chart the route to be taken; to determine the purpose of the trip; and how to arm and fit the ships.

Moreover, without the nautical genius of Urdaneta, the armada could not have reached its objective. This was manifested on several occasions when the other pilots disagreed with his calculations. On January 14, 1565, several islands were seen which Urdaneta claimed to be the Jardines, discovered by Villalobos in 1542. The other pilots ridiculed him, contending that they had gone very much farther on their course. His assumption proved to be correct. Again when the Ladrones were sighted, the other pilots asserted that the island group was already the Philippines. Urdaneta insisted it was just the Ladrones. Once more, he proved himself right when the boats of the islanders were discovered to be using lateen-sails not common to the Filipinos. (35)

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(34) Medina, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

(35) "Relación, 1564-65," pp. 230-233.

Furthermore, in all important matters, Legazpi always sought the advice of Fr. Urdaneta not only because he was enjoined in strong terms by his superiors to do so,(36) but also because he could not rely on his own judgment. Confessing his own inadequacy without Urdaneta, Legazpi wrote the king on June 1, 1565, imploring his Majesty to order the Augustinian father back to the Philippines, for "he is one who has so well understood everything that is occurring in all places . . . he is very necessary to us."(37)

His Place in History. Fray Andrés de Urdaneta is truly representative of the Age of Humanism in which he lived. He typified the Renaissance man who dabbled in every field of endeavor and was equally good in all. As a soldier during his youthful years, he fought with extraordinary gallantry against the enemies of Spain in Italy and Germany and against the Portuguese in the Moluccas. As a writer, he wrote a very readable and succinct report of the ill-fated Loaisa voyage which, to this day, has remained the standard account of that expedition. As a priest, he held the distinction of having been the first prior to the Augustinian missionaries who pioneered in the Christianization of the Filipinos. As a seaman, he was credited with the success of the Legazpi expedition in safely reaching the Philippines, the charting of the return route from the Philippines to New Spain (Mexico), and the discovery of the wind which mariners call by the Indian name *huracán*. For these achievements, Andrés de Urdaneta without doubt deserves a prominent place in the history of Spanish colonization and conquest in the 16th century.

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(36) "Instrucción que se dió por el Presidente y Oydores de la Real Audiencia de Méjico a Miguel López de Legazpi," *D.I.U.*, II, pp. 19-94.

(37) See "Return to Philippines Requested in Letter Addressed to Philip II . . . June 1st., 1565" in Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-181.

# # #

HUMOR IN OUR HISTORY

By Dalmacio Martin

During the age of discovery

One historic event which could be viewed somewhat humorously today was Columbus' voyage to the New World in 1492. It was really a new world which he found with his companions after seventy days at sea, but he did not know it. He thought that he was somewhere close to India. He made a great discovery, but he was not aware of what it was. He died a forlorn, disappointed, mistrusted man. They even put him in prison.

The discoveries of Columbus served to reawaken interest in the possibility that the earth might be round, and that India might be reached by sailing westward just a little farther on beyond the points reached by Columbus. Ferdinand Magellan was one of those young men who, after the voyages of Columbus, felt sure that India, China, and the Moluccas were somewhere to the West. He was going to prove to the Spanish king that he was right, just to find out how little he knew to begin with. He did not have the slightest idea when he started in 1519 what long transoceanic excursions he had begged to be allowed to undertake.

Another humorous incident in history had great relevance to our home islands. Columbus and Magellan did their explorations for the Spanish throne although they were not Spaniards themselves. Portugal was the most serious rival of Spain especially after the Portuguese Prince, Henry the Navigator, had claimed exclusive rights to the Cape of Good Hope route to the East, and so Spain had to prove that the fabulous Indies, if it could be reached sailing westward, really belonged to Spain. It was the most stupendous real-estate drama in all history. It involved the whole globe.

There was Pope Alexander VI (Rodrigo Borgia), who was willing to oblige by settling the dispute. At least he thought that he was settling something. He was characterized by one historian as a "political pope." His decision, which was accepted by both disputants, was that all undiscovered lands on one side of the globe would belong to Portugal, and those on the other side to Spain. Our home archipelago lies on the part that was officially awarded to Portugal, but Spain got her special right to it finally recognized officially in 1529. Portugal was not happy. There and then commenced a battle between two world real-estate claimants. There is humor to think of where these two colossal landowners are today in world affairs, and there is also some humor to think of how easily a world could be divided at that time between two quarreling neighbors as if it were an apple. And the striking aspect of it was that it was a Portuguese (Magellan) who offered to captain the Spanish team. In modern Philippine parlance, that would be called collaboration with the enemy.

To go back to Magellan. It is said that after about sixteen months at sea, the intrepid captain, "the bravest of the brave," became somewhat absent-minded and ascetical. It was said that he had some difficulty in controlling his sailors in Cebu. According to one writer, the sailors looted the graves and raided the harems.(1) In lieu of C rations and powdered eggs and ice-cream mix, the sailors of Magellan gave away trinkets, mirrors, bells, and other gewgaws to the natives. There was the same pattern of feminine offensive which the G.I.'s were later to perfect to a T after MacArthur returned in 1944 as he had promised.

It can be noted from an excerpt from a recent biography of Magellan, already referred to in the preceding paragraph, how resourceful Magellan's sailors were while in Cebu. Their behavior is pitiably amusing to us today:

> Magellan attempted to curb the license (of the sailors) by invoking the wrath of the Church. He had Padre Valderrama assemble the crew and denounce it as a mortal sin for any Christian to hold intercourse with a pagan woman. The result of this sermon was paradoxical. The

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(1) Charles McKew Parr, *So Noble A Captain*. New York: T. Y. Cromwell Co., 1953, p. 353.

> simple and forthright Spanish sailors became ardent apostles of Christianity and artlessly baptized any woman with whom they proposed to have intercourse; they thereby joyously furthered the Christianizing of the populace.(2)

The brave explorer wanted to introduce what would probably be an early, European-sponsored version of SEATO. He offered to help a friendly king settle the score with a hostile chieftain named Lapu-Lapu. It was planned by Magellan to be an all-Spanish selection of his finest boys, just about fifty of them, pitted against about three thousand native warriors of Mactan. He told his Cebuano protectorates to watch his boys fight, but not to bother to help. His soldiers should be able to scare the natives with the first volley. The battle was doomed from the start. That's what makes it seem so funny to us of today, — the horrible miscalculation. Even the picture of Don Quixote fighting the windmills could not have been more amusing. The white man's first *pasikat* in our home islands ended in lamentable tragedy for him.

There is a kind of ironic humor in the history of the whole disaster. An impressive monument was erected in honor of the loser, but for a long time it was nothing but dishonor to the winner. It was only very recently that Lapu-Lapu had a monument built for him by the apologetic Cebuanos, and it is really nothing compared to that which was built for Magellan.

These statements are not intended to deprecate the greatness and the immortal fame of the brave explorer, born a Portuguese, but forced to turn pro-Spaniard. History has given Magellan a high place which is far beyond our poor power to add or detract. It is only pointed out here that his dying in Mactan was totally unnecessary. Magellan's deeds have been a great turning point in the history of Western civilization. It is the circumstances of his death in Mactan and the relative appreciation of the two combatants which have some element of tragicomedy to us of today.

Let us now jump forward to two hundred forty years after Mactan to footnote a similar patriot-traitor-mix upon the death of Diego Silang. Miguel Vicos was honored for having shot Diego Silang from behind, and the monument to honor "patriot" Vicos had this inscription: "In honor of Vicos, a Spanish mestizo, for having shot and killed the seditious traitor Diego Silang in the year 1763, after having invoked the blessing of the Holy Virgin on his deed." The monument to Vicos stood for one hundred fifty years in the town of Bantay before it was replaced by another monument less offensive to the Filipino sense of historical justice.

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(2) *Ibid.*

"An everlasting name which shall never perish"

We are now stuck with our name as a country: *Philippines.* We cannot now get rid of it even if we wanted to. The name is not without some humorous associations. The name *Philippines,* as we all know, was in perpetual remembrance of King Philip II of Spain, the king who, according to one historian, crushed the spirit of liberty in Spain and suicidally persecuted the hard-working Moors. He lost the "Invincible Spanish Armada" during the sixteenth century, but his kingly name got stuck to us for eternity, one might say. As a result of the historic decision, we are now called *Filipinos.* It would not be so bad if the world would suppose that we have been named after San Felipe, but that would be a distortion of historical truth. Historians all over the world keep reminding us that we were *Philip's Isles,* and we were for some time officially *Philippine Islands,* and later *Philippines.* Of course in the States and in Europe, and even in nearby Tokyo, we call each other *Pinoys.* This might even be a better name for us, although it is not official. We are the only country in the world of such sizeable indigenous population which carries a name derived from a doubtful historical character. We are stuck with that name forever!

This business of giving names, if one ponders it carefully, is really amazing and amusing. One can laugh, or one can cry, depending often on where one stands. A few brown natives on a Pacific Island stole a few things from Magellan's ships, and their home islands were called *Ladrones Islands.* But if the white-skinned strangers steal whole islands or continents, the strangers are not called *Ladrones.* One's sense of humor might lead one to say that even today, if one steals little things, he goes to jail. But if one steals big things, he excites admiration and awe.

During the time of Governor Narciso Claveria, we were given surnames of the imported variety. The ancestors of the writer of this article got Martin; those of the governor of Pangasinan, Estrella; and those of the President in Malacañang, Garcia. There were a few stubborn indigenous groups, however, which kept or adopted instead such surnames as Soliman, Putong, Mabanag and Magsaysay. But as a whole, we got imported names, not like the Americans who preferred to retain such names as White, Green, Blue, Black; or Strong, Long, Sweet; or Wood, Stone, Waters, and the like. Other nationalities in the world would only have names of foreign origin if their ancestors had come from other lands. But we of this archipelago, without stepping out of the country, got foreign names, and there was not much we could do about them.

The three most common foreign surnames given to us — and this can be checked with the Manila telephone directory — were *Reyes*, *Santos* and *Cruz*. So many of our ancestors were surnamed *Reyes*, meaning kings, when they were little better than slaves at the time of Claveria. That is a stroke of sardonic humor. *Santos* means saints. We are still prayerfully waiting, after more than one hundred years, for the first saint from our race. *Cruz* was the only authentic imported name for us, for our ancestors did carry the cross on their shoulders, and many of us are still carrying it now.

"My blood thou shalt take"

Our sixteenth-century ancestors had compacted in blood with the men of Magellan in Cebu and with the men of Legazpi in Bohol. The blood compacts were supposed to seal the friendship between our people and the Spaniards. That, ironically, started a long period of bloody struggles, starting with Magellan's death on the beaches of Mactan and including the long period of Dagohoy's revolt in Bohol. There is humor in the unexpected parallelism of Cebu and Bohol. Before the theoretical friendship with Spain ended in 1898, we were to see the bloody revolts of Sumoroy, Malong, Diego Silang, and Apolinario de la Cruz, and the revolution initiated by Andres Bonifacio. The Katipuneros of Bonifacio had their own counter-blood-compacts when the time came. We were told that there were revolts in our islands during the entire Spanish regime at the rate of about one every two years. The moral of it is: Do not trust too much in blood compacts. Ceremonies do not fool our people. "The Blood Compact" today is nothing but a good Juan Luna painting.

More trouble than treasure

Let us go back a little in this humoristic review of our history. The Spaniards came into possession of our land without an undisputed title to it. It was geographically Portuguese land, according to the demarcation line of 1493. This may come to one's mind whenever one recalls the difficult and troubled time which Spain experienced here in dealing with our ancestors and their ancestors' ancestors. The Spaniards really had little peace in these islands during their rule of over three hundred years, not necessarily because of the intransigency of our ancestors, but because of rivalries among the rulers themselves. There were many recorded cases of conflicts between *encomenderos* and missionaries, between civil officials and church officials, and among different religious orders. These conflicts, all of them involving Spaniards, must have furnished no little amusement to the indigenous population of our archipelago even if at that time they did not have so many newspaper columnists as we do today.

Soon after the colonization period began, the tribute-collecting *encomenderos* began to trample on the missionary conscience of the religious, and the latter's complaints to the kings of Spain were loud and continuous. One archbishop wrote to the king complaining of the venality of the civil administrators, and this is what he said:

> The officials are only moved by their own interests and seek to enrich themselves, and if it happened that the welfare of the native was an obstacle to this, they would not hesitate, if they could, to kill them all in exchange for their own temporal profit. From this inordinate greed,

> arises the violation of your Majesty's decrees and mandates.(3)

It was an archbishop who said that.

For this opposition to the civil authorities, not a few of the church officials aroused the hatred of the governors-general, and some of the former were actually imprisoned by the latter. After the imprisonment, the church hierarchy would usually retaliate with excommunication and other forms of debasing punishments. According to historians, Governor-General Corcuera was imprisoned for five years at the instance of Archbishop Guerrero. Ex-Governor-General Salcedo was also imprisoned and sent to Mexico for trial at the instance of Archbishop Poblete. Upon his exoneration, Salcedo sailed back to Manila, but he died on the way.

To see former Governor-General Vargas dressed in a penitent's garb and walking daily in the churchyard in his bare feet and with a rope around his neck for three months must have been a sight indeed to our awestruck ancestors, but we of today cannot fail to see the humor in that incredible drama instigated by Archbishop Pardo.(4)

Governor-General Bustamante and his son were slain in 1719 for challenging the churchmen under the influence of Archbishop De la Cuesta. That was of course the climax in bloodiness and tragedy.

There were also many instances when the churchmen were the ones who were accused before the king for abuses, corruption and government interferences. A French officer visiting in Manila in late eighteenth century wrote his observations of the way our forefathers were made to suffer at the hands of the church authorities:

> For the most trivial offences, infants, children, men, women, old and young without distinction of rank, age, or sex, are subjected to the discipline of the whip; and the ascendancy acquired by the clergy over the minds of the

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(3) Emma Helen Blair and James A. Robertson, *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898.* Cleveland, Ohio: 1903-1909, Vol. X, p. 145.

(4) *Ibid.*, Vol XXXIX, p. 219.

> people in their respective parishes is such that the Indian, having received his stripes with the most humble submission, thanks the priest for his good offices.(5)

Being whipped in public and being thankful for it afterwards must have made our people sink to the lowest ebb of racial pride, or given them an incredible sense of humor which enabled them to stand up later in 1896.

In brief, we can say with humor and charity that the Spaniards did not have a very pleasant time of it staying in our archipelago which was to have been Portuguese-owned in the first place. We fought them and they fought us, but they also fought among themselves.

"By the mouth of the prophets"

In our country the Spanish administrators did not want to be told the truth about the state of affairs. They would banish, imprison, or kill if anyone dared touch the sensitive spots. They executed two of the finest native prophets, Burgos and Rizal. One would think this was a tragedy, and that there was no humor in the history surrounding these two young men. But some humor can be seen in it today, because the lapse of time has given us a certain detachment and wisdom to laugh at the mistakes and the folly of the earlier protagonists. For one thing, Burgos displayed an uncanny insight and a wonderful gift of prophecy when he wrote about our country 100 years ago in his *Presagios y Vaticinios*. This is what he then said:

> The time will come when you will forget your customs and traditions and advocate foreign cultures. You will be called great imitators. We will have a very expensive political set-up which will be controlled by a chosen few whose watchword will be self-advancement. We shall fall prey to occidental luxuries. We will have palatial homes, expensive cars ("coches lujosisimos"), and fashion and dress way above the reach of the masses who will, in turn, lead

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(5) Monsieur de Pages, *Travels Round the World in the Years 1767-1771*. Tr. from French. Dublin: P. Bryne, R. White, *et al.*, 1791, pp. 148-149.

> miserable lives; and even if at this point our agricultural and mineral products will find foreign markets all this will not be enough to compensate for our injury.(6)

Burgos must have laughed some when he wrote *La Loba Negra*, the sad story of the vengeful wife and daughter of the murdered Governor-General Bustamante, just as Rizal must have painted his Sisa and his Doña Victorina with the same brushes dipped in tears and laughter. While we are on the subject of Father Burgos we might as well consider first one minor but somewhat humorous incident of the Mutiny of 1872. The confederates in Manila were to signal the exact hour of armed uprising by means of rockets. But, unfortunately, there was a fiesta in Sampaloc, and the rockets of the fiesta were mistaken by the leaders of the Cavite mutiny as the arrival of the zero hour. Of course the mutiny failed, and in the ensuing round up, the three priests, Burgos, Gomez, and Zamora, were falsely implicated.

Another unusual turn of history in connection with this mutiny in Cavite was when Francisco Saldua, who was bribed to testify falsely against the three priests, was himself condemned on the garrote. That kind of retributive justice has some humor in it, if we of today should look at that episode as a tragedy of errors.

Let us now turn to the work of another great prophet. In comic memory of all present-day Doña Victorinas, let us quote a few lines from Rizal's "The Philippines a Century Hence":

> They gradually lost their ancient traditions, their recollections. They forgot their writings, their songs, their poetry, their laws, in order to learn by heart other doctrines, which they did not understand: other ethics, other tastes, different from those inspired in their race by their climate and their way of thinking. Then there was a falling off; they were lowered in their own eyes, they became ashamed of what was distinctly their own, in order to admire and praise what was foreign and incomprehensible; their spirit was broken, and they acquiesced.

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(6) Translated by A. Feria Wynn, in *The Filipino Home Companion*, October-November, 1958, p. 8.

The closeness between tears and laughter has been pointed out to us by Rizal in his article entitled "Llanto y Risas." A chapter in his *El Filibusterismo* has been correctly titled "Smiles and Tears." There is humor in satire, and Rizal was as great a satirist as any that walked the earth.

The *Noli Me Tangere* and the *El Filibusterismo* are great books, but there is humor in a situation that uses the force of Republic Act 1425 to make students read these immortal works.

It was also history with its irony and humor when our leaders of reform had to go to Spain to be able to attack Spain in her colonial maladministration. Leaders like Rizal, Del Pilar, Lopez Jaena, Panganiban, Tavera and others could not have written what they did about the Spaniards if they did not go to Spain. It was safer near the crater.

"Conquerors of modern times," —the Americans

Let us now turn to more recent events in which the Americans have played a part. Take the Battle of Manila Bay between the American and the Spanish fleets. One is struck by the one-sidedness of that conflict. If it was a "fixed" contest, one can also laugh at the impotence of the Spanish naval command. It was the first grand slam in history — not one American warship damaged, not one American soldier killed, and yet all the Spanish warships were destroyed.

The Spaniards were having trouble with the Cubans and the Filipinos. They were having a terrible time of it on two hemispheres. It is true that the Americans were bullying them around in Cuba, but it is somewhat amusing to think of how, under such conditions of helplessness, the Spaniards could have had the shortsightedness to blow up the warship "Maine" in the Havana harbor. That started for them a real shooting war on two fronts. They did not have a chance.

When Dewey's guns were menacingly pointed at Manila in 1898, and when the Spaniards saw how utterly hopeless the situation was, they requested that they be permitted to make a small token resistance to safeguard national honor, after which they would promptly raise the white flag of surrender. Even in war, one can say, there is such a thing as "pakitang tao lamang."

And after the war was over, when Taft was proclaiming "The Philippines for the Filipinos," Senator Beveridge was thundering with his rhetoric thus: "The Philippines are ours forever . . . God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-contemplation and self-admiration. No!"

Our habit of overvaluing the foreign — the deep scar of history's wound in our souls — could become a source of humorous observations. One example can be cited here. We are supposed to have a national language. We started teaching it in the schools in 1936, or more than twenty years ago. But from Dagupan to Plaza Goiti in Manila, one could hardly find a single street sign or billboard in the national language. If an American from a moon rocket should drop down and upon landing find no people around, he might suppose that Central Luzon is part of Oklahoma. He might see one of the big billboards of "Ang Tibay," but if he looks closely enough he would find the slogan, "The Wear That Lasts." He might also find "Putong Pulo" nearer to Manila, but at the bottom of the sign he will read: "Take home a bag: good for health." Yes, our vacillating, half-hearted attempts at national language propagation and development could be a source of amusement, and the history of our country is rich in instances which seem to show that we don't make our actions square with our promises. We could have a real national language tomorrow if we wanted to, but we don't really want it. There is humor in that situation.

When the Spanish colonial authorities refused to teach Spanish to the Filipino youth of Rizal's time, what did Rizal say? These were Rizal's words to Basilio: "If they were unwilling to teach you their language, cultivate your own, extend it, preserve to the people their own way of thinking and, instead of aspiring to be a province, aspire to be a nation!" Now, because of the recent Spanish language law, we are having an overdose of that which Rizal had said we do not need to crave for.

When we were ready to be seriously considered for independence by the Americans during the Great Depression (thanks to our oil, cordage, and other salable exports) they decided — they, not ourselves — that we should be ceremoniously proclaimed independent on July 4. So on July 4, 1946 we got our own independence. Our imitative proclivities for things foreign were not to end with that independence; we had to copy the American "Glorious Fourth." Even in the matter of our independence we were not free to choose when to be independent. It is said that a Philippine delegation at a SEATO conference in Thailand, in celebrating our Independence Day on July 4, was misunderstood by our Asian neighbors who were not so familiar with our political history as celebrating the American independence day. What is humorous in this situation is the fact that, forever and ever, we would also be celebrating for a foreign country when it is our solemn purpose to celebrate for our own country. There is humor in such an unindependence!

Concluding reflections on history that repeats itself

It is not claimed for one moment that this article represents an important study of our history. What has been done is merely to present a few sketches taken from here and there which might give occasion for some humorous reflections. In history the lapse of time can make what was once a serious, tragic event to the participants an amusing episode to the contemporary observers.

It should not be supposed that the writer of this article has no respect for our historic past because he sees events in our history in a comic vein. There are times when comedy is undistinguishable from tragedy, in the same way that the tragedy of a Shylock was a comedy of Shakespeare. The histories of peoples are tears and laughter intermingled. What is emphasized here is the funnier side of human strivings as found in the story of our country. No disrespect is meant by dressing some historical events as if they were comic interludes, for, as someone has truthfully said, the clowning of a comedian can sometimes convey greater truths with his laugh-provoking informalities than the prepared oration of the principal actor.

History truly repeats itself. The tobacco monopoly of Spanish times has its virtual counterpart today in the government's monopoly of the dollar. Conditions may not be exactly identical in the two cases, but the basic considerations are the same. Both of them have often been cited as sources of abuses and graft. The questionable galleon trade of old has its virtual counterpart in the import license and foreign exchange allotment system of today. One becomes rich immediately, without necessarily making our entire country richer, by pulling the right ropes or wires. If we could describe past historic events so that they thus become part of present-day evaluations, and if we could laugh at the Doña Victorinas and Capitan Tiagos of old, maybe we can also laugh at some of our present miseries and predicaments. Humor is a great health restorer and preserver, so let not the humorous episodes of our history be forgotten. It was Lincoln who once said that if he did not laugh, he would die.

Ignorance can be amusing, so we laugh at the blind transoceanic gropings of Columbus and Magellan while we admire their courage. Indiscretion and *pasikat* can also be amusing, so the Spanish tragedy at Mactan was a comedy for Lapu-Lapu. Pope Alexander's demarcation line was the forerunner of the present summit talks, which often end in futility.

The comic quarrels between contending political parties today remind us of the quarrels between Spanish governors and archbishops in the past. Spain's deafness during her time was incredible and amusing, but "he laughs best who laughs last," and Burgos and Rizal are among those whose "laughter" we can still hear today.

Our fondness for the foreign and the imported started in Cebu in 1521, and as a result we have become the wonder child of Asia. Not a few of our neighbors marvel at us, but most of them seem to snicker at our unseemly pretensions.

We believe we are America's favorite, but when we count the "aguinaldo," we have the least. One "aguinaldo" they have given us, like the albatross of the Ancient Mariner, is our "Glorious Fourth," the celebration in Manila duplicating the celebration in Washington, D. C.

# # #

GRACIANO LOPEZ JAENA

By Demy P. Sonza

I.

> Among the first to have in their conscience the suggestive crying of the motherland to defend and work for her rights was Graciano Lopez Jaena.(1)
>
> —Rafael Palma

THE night of subjection and oppression under the Spaniards was really long and dark for the Filipinos. But Providence was not blind to their plight nor deaf to their prayers. To them there came, even as it must come to other subject peoples, the day of liberation. The coming of this day was presaged by the dawn that was the Propaganda Movement, which brightened into the crimson sunrise that was the Philippine Revolution, and finally broke forth into the glorious day of political independence.

The Propaganda Movement was launched by Filipino intellectual leaders and a few liberal foreign sympathizers, in order to secure reforms from the Spanish government and to correct the many socio-political evils that had been plaguing the Philippines for more than three hundred years. As stated by the first propagandist, Graciano Lopez Jaena, the aims of the Propaganda Movement were to effect the following:(2)

1. Equality between the Spaniards and the Filipinos before the law.
2. Assimilation of the Philippines as a regular province of Spain.
3. Restoration of Philippine representation in the Spanish Cortes.
4. Filipinization or secularization of the Philippine parishes.
5. Granting individual liberties to Filipinos, such as freedom of the press, freedom of speech, freedom of association, and freedom of petition for redress of grievances.

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(1) Rafael Palma, "Lopez Jaena y su Epoca," *El Ideal*, February 11, 1914.

(2) Graciano Lopez Jaena, *Discursos y Artículos Varios* (Barcelona: Imp. Iberica de Francisco Fossas, 1891), pp. 32-35.

The Movement started in 1882(3) when the *Circulo Hispano-Filipino* was organized in Madrid and published the newspaper, *La Revista del Circulo Hispano-Filipino*. It was also this year when Marcelo H. del Pilar founded his *Diariong Tagalog* and when Jose Rizal left the Philippines for Europe. If this year is accepted, as it should be, as the starting point of the reform propaganda campaign, then Graciano Lopez Jaena antedated the movement by two years,(4) for he was already in Spain crusading for reforms for his countrymen as early as 1880. Besides, even before he left the Philippines in 1880, he was already a vocal agitator for the good of his people. In fact, it was to escape persecution from the Spanish friars and civil authorities whose wrath he had incurred in his defense of the rights of the Filipinos, that he left Iloilo and escaped to Spain.

Lopez Jaena, therefore, was the morning star, the advance guard of the great libertarian crusade, and as such deserves as much credit as the foremost exponents and prime movers, Jose P. Rizal and Marcelo H. del Pilar. These three intellectual giants formed the Great Triumvirate of the Propaganda Movement. President Carlos P. Garcia thinks that "it was a kind and wise Providence which brought together in Spain, during those momentous years of our history, these men [in] temperaments basically distinct from each other but [who] perfectly complemented with each other to constitute one national instrument of a supreme single cause, Philippine freedom."(5)

Rizal was, again in the words of President Garcia, "the idealist, the cultural and learned leader of his people, the apostle who was capable of supreme sacrifices for his country; Del Pilar was the political realist, the suave diplomat, the shrewd strategist, the cautious but fearless crusader; and Lopez Jaena was the carefree bohemian, the dauntless and impulsive fighter, the indefatigable writer, the orator with pentecostal eloquence, the spell-binder of the masses."(6)

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(3) *Cf.* Teodoro A. Agoncillo, *Revolt of the Masses* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines, 1956), pp. 315-316.

(4) Gabriel F. Fabella, "Lopez Jaena: First Man in the Propaganda Field," *Sunday Times Magazine*, February 17, 1957.

(5) Carlos P. Garcia, speech at the Centennial Celebration of Graciano Lopez Jaena at Jaro, Iloilo City, Dec. 18, 1956.

(6) *Ibid.*

The three were the first to raise the torch of truth over the face of their prostrate country so that the world and their own countrymen would see her miserable and deplorable state and, seeing, act to save and redeem her from ignorance, bondage, and oppression.

CHILDHOOD AND SCHOOLING

Graciano Lopez Jaena was born in Jaro, Iloilo City,(7) on December 18, 1856.(8) His parents were Placido Lopez and Maria Jacobe Jaena who, although descended from once wealthy families, were not themselves very well-to-do. His mother, a deeply religious woman, was his first teacher from whom he learned the alphabet and the rudiments of character and conduct.

When he was six years old, Graciano was placed under the tutelage of Father Francisco Jayme(9) of the *Colegio Provincial* in Jaro. Father Jayme was among the first to note Graciano's intellectual brilliance and his gift for oratory. In 1870 the *Seminario de San Vicente Ferrer* was opened in Jaro and his mother, whose dream it was for Graciano to become a priest, at once enrolled him there to study philosophy and theology. At the seminary the teachers were impressed by the extraordinary talents and high capacity for independent thinking of the frail and rather slouchy boy. He finished his studies as the best theologian in his class.(10)

While studying at the seminary Lopez Jaena also served as secretary to an uncle, Claudio Lopez, the Portuguese vice-consul in Iloilo. His uncle was so convinced of the unusual mentality of his young nephew that he sometimes let him settle minor cases that were brought to his office.

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(7) Jaro was then a municipality, separate from the city of Iloilo.

(8) Almost all writings on Lopez Jaena erroneously place his birth on Dec. 20, 1856. The records of the parish church of Jaro (Book 10-C, p. 143) reveal that Fr. Placido de Ysana baptized him with Rufino Justiniani standing as sponsor on December 20, 1856, when Graciano was already three days old.

(9) Fr. Jayme was the curate of Kalibo, Aklan, when the Revolution broke out in that region.

(10) Benigno Hinolan, *The Life of Graciano Lopez Jaena* (Iloilo City: Visayas Printing Press, 1923), p. 2.

But although his mother wanted him to be a priest, Graciano's ambition was to be a physician. So with the financial aid of his relatives he went to Manila to study medicine. The University of Santo Tomas, however, denied him admission because he lacked the required bachelor of arts degree, which was not offered at the seminary in Jaro. Fortunately, one professor at the university, Dr. Fina, on learning that Lopez Jaena was a brilliant student, suggested that he enter San Juan de Dios Hospital as an apprentice, which he did.(11)

He stayed at the San Juan de Dios Hospital but only for two years. He was compelled by financial difficulty to return to his native Iloilo to practice the art of healing. Back in Jaro he found out that without a physician's license he could not compete with the practicing doctors in Iloilo City and the neighboring towns. But he was not disheartened, for the people in the interior towns wanted and needed his services. He practiced in Pototan and other towns far from the city. Of course he was always willing to treat for free the poor in the city and in Jaro who went to him.

EARLY PATRIOTIC LABORS

His trips to the towns and barrios where he saw the miserable conditions of the people and where he often witnessed cases of oppression and persecution of his people by the friars and civil authorities, hastened the germination of his sense of patriotism and nationalism. His sensitive heart was soon flooded with a deep love for his countrymen and a sincere and moving desire to redeem them. He mixed with the common masses in social gatherings in the villages. He visited with the poor and talked to them about civic virtues, sanitation, and other matters affecting the promotion of their well-being.(12) Besides treating people he began to sow in their minds the seeds of freedom and democratic ideas by informing them about their rights and responsibilities as men.

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(11) Zoilo M. Galang, *Encyclopedia of the Philippines* (Manila: Exequiel Floro, 1957), Vol. 3, p. 240.

(12) Exequiel G. Somcio, "Graciano Lopez Jaena," *Philippine Journal of Education*, January, 1939.

It was not only among the poor and the common men that he tried to propagate his libertarian ideas, but also among the rich. At the same time that he was practicing in the towns he also acted as private teacher in philosophy of his uncle, Claudio Lopez, and Federico Jalandoni, a prominent resident of Jaro. Jalandoni said that as a teacher Lopez Jaena was "concise, clear, and logical in his explanations."(13) He became well-known as a teacher, too, that the Jaro seminary invited him to join its faculty. Lopez Jaena refused to teach at the seminary for he knew that what the friars were teaching, and would want him to teach, were not in accord with his own ideas.

He abhorred the abuses and extreme greediness of the friars so much that his first written work was against them. The work was a novelette entitled, *Fray Botod* ("Big-bellied Friar"), which he wrote in 1874 when he was 18 years old.(14) In this work he caricatured the typical friar of his day as abusive, cruel, lazy, indifferent, greedy, and lustful. Although *Fray Botod* was not published, the copy circulated around until the friars and the authorities learned of its biting characterization and ridicule. The friars at once acted to find the author. Fortunately, Graciano's brother, Doroteo, buried the manuscript under their house in Jaro, thereby saving Graciano from sure harm.

But one who fights oppressors cannot escape persecution. One day, the mayor of Pototan punished three prisoners so severely that Graciano was called to heal them. The prisoners died, however, before he could get to their side. To escape responsibility for the death of the prisoners, the mayor asked Lopez Jaena to make a certificate showing that they died of some natural disease. Lopez Jaena refused to declare such a falsity and so he was persecuted by the mayor.(15)

To get away from persecution Lopez Jaena went to Silay, Negros Occidental, where he lived for some time in a farm which raised sugar cane. It was during this time when he started writing articles for the *La Oceania Española* of Manila. He wrote very well that the editor of the paper invited him to join the editorial staff. This invitation was declined after Graciano had consulted with a lawyer friend.(16)

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(13) Hinolan, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

(14) Jaime C. de Veyra and Mariano Ponce, *Efemérides Filipinas* (Manila: 1914), p. 207.

(15) Galang, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

In June 1878 Iloilo was ravaged by famine due to a long draught. Lopez Jaena's uncles, Claudio Lopez and his brother, Eugenio, who were among the richest Visayans, very generously gave help to thousands of famished people who flocked to their houses in Jaro. This kindness so moved Graciano whose sympathies had always been with the poor people, that he wrote a lengthy article which appeared in the *La Oceania Español,* (17) thanking the benefactors on behalf of the poor recipients. In this article he said in part:

> I wish to say that the brothers in question are Mr. Claudio Lopez, the vice-consul of Portugal in Iloilo, and his brother, Don Eugenio, *ex-gobernadorcilio* of the city. What grateful memories awaken in the hearts of the poor at the mere mention of their names! Animated by principles of Christianity and their hearts deeply touched by the gloomy picture that the deplorable situation of the needy presented, they used all their resources to remedy the penury of those unhappy souls who flocked to their houses, demanding in the name of God, protection from the hunger that was moving them down with its fierce scythe.
>
> The vice-consul gave his alms in money and his brother in food and rice.

As time went on Lopez Jaena noted that the condition of his people was getting worse and so the more vocal he became in criticizing the Spaniards and defending his countrymen. But the more he agitated for better treatment of his fellow *Indios* the tighter the net of persecution closed on him, until the time came when his family thought he should go away for his safety. The more he became convinced, too, that the authorities would not listen to his criticisms and suggestions. He decided to leave the country for three reasons, firstly, to escape persecution, secondly, to work for reforms for the Philippines in Spain, and thirdly, to continue his medical studies.

And so, with much pain in his heart he left his loved ones and secretly sailed for Spain in the early part of 1880, the first man to set out in the Propaganda field, where for the next sixteen years he devoted his life to the soul-consuming obsession of making his country a better place to live in and seeing his people enjoying a life worthy of the children of God.

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(16) *Ibid.*

(17) Issue for August 29, 1878.

II.

IN SPAIN

In point of time the Propaganda triumvirate reached Europe in this order: Lopez Jaena, 1880; Rizal, 1882; and Del Pilar, 1889. Lopez Jaena arrived in Spain when he was barely 24 years old.

In Valencia, where he first stayed in Spain, Lopez Jaena lived in the house of Colonel Enrique Fajardo, a former governor of the province of Iloilo. He matriculated at the school of medicine of the University of Valencia and won a prize a few months after he had enrolled.(18) He did not finish the course, however, for the following year, attracted by politics and journalism, and the urge to get to work for the good of the motherland, he moved to Madrid. Colonel Fajardo gave him letters of recommendation to his friends who were leading political figures in the Spanish capital.

Lopez Jaena found life in Madrid agreeable to his temperament and inclinations. Through the help of the prominent Spanish statesman Sol y Ortega who had developed a fondness for him, he became a member of the Progressive Republican Party headed by Manuel Ruiz Zorrilla. His literary talent found expression in the liberal newspapers of the city. He simply loved politics and literature that Rizal said of him, "His vocation is politics and literature. I do not know for sure whether he loves politics in order to deliver speeches or he loves literature to be a politician."(19)

The fact was that delivering speeches and writing were only his second love. His first ardent love was always his country whom he referred to as "the constant love of my heart, the eternal thought of my mind."(20) Oratory and journalism were only the media through which he sang the glory of his beloved Filipinas. They were only the tools with which he courageously, and at the beginning singlehandedly, worked to expose the abuses and offenses done to his oppressed countrymen. No derogatory remark made against the Philippines and the Filipinos, either in the papers or on the platform, were left unanswered and unrefuted by Graciano Lopez Jaena. Brave and frank, he never hid his identity — as the maligners of his people like "Quioquiap" (Pedro Feced) often did — but always used his name whenever he took a stand in his country's cause.

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(18) Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *Graciano Lopez Jaena* (Manila: 1921), p. 3.

(19) *Ibid.*, p. 1.

(20) Preface to *Discursos y Artículos Varios.*

It is noteworthy that while all the other Filipino reformers one time or another used pseudonyms in their writings Lopez Jaena always came out in the open and signed the works of his scintillating pen with his own name.

Speaking of his name, it should be noted that Graciano's family name should have gone down in history as "Lopez" or, in the Spanish style, "Lopez y Jaena." It was only in Spain when, seeing that there were many Spaniards named Lopez, he added his mother's family name to his own. And to make it non-Spanish, he did not use the conjunction "y" as Spaniards do. It could not be ascertained when he started using "Lopez Jaena" instead of "Lopez," but as late as January 1, 1884, Rizal's diary listed his name as "Graciano Lopez."(21) Knowing, however, that Lopez Jaena at the beginning of his campaign aspired to make the Philippines a regular province of Spain and not an independent country, it is safe to presume that he adopted the use of his third name only after he became convinced that the Filipinos should become an independent people and "should rely upon themselves alone for their progress and regeneration."

It seems strange that for all the hard-hitting speeches and writings that Lopez Jaena made, he was not physically molested by antilibertarian elements. This might have been so because Lopez Jaena had, in time, befriended almost all the republican leaders in Madrid and Barcelona and had won their high respects that Wenceslao Retana was led to say that he was "under the protection of prominent Spanish socialists. . ."(22) Among these republican leaders were

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(21) Camilo Osias, *Jose Rizal: His Life and Times* (Manila: Oscol Educational Publishers, 1948), p. 83.

(22) Wenceslao Retana, *Aparato Bibliográfico*, Vol. 3, p. 1149; also, Agoncillo, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

Nicolas Salmeron, Miguel de Morayta (one time president of the Spanish republic and minister of the Crown), Francisco Pi y Margall, Emilio Castelar, and Miguel de Unamuno.(23)

Highly talented, energetic, and bubbling with enthusiasm to do something for his native land, Graciano frequented meetings where liberal ideas were discussed, especially in Masonic lodges and republican club headquarters in which places he later became one of the most sought out and applauded speakers. Before long he convinced his fellow partymen with his forensic ability that one time he was commissioned by the Progressive Republican Party to go on a tour and speak to clubs and propagate republican ideas.(24)

Another institution that attracted the Ilongo's interest as soon as he arrived in Spain was Masonry. He saw that "the noble principles of Masonry made it the appointed champion to hold aloft the banner of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity in the face of exploitation and tyranny."(25) He was initiated as apprentice Mason in Lodge *Porvenir* No.2 in Madrid in 1882, adopting the symbolic name *Bolivar*.(26) At this time the grand master of the lodge was the Filipinologist Juan Utor y Fernandez. He became a very active Mason, and in Barcelona where he transferred from Madrid he founded, and became worshipful master of, a lodge for Filipinos, the *Logia Revolución,* which won its charter from the *Grande Oriente Español* on April 1, 1889(27) and of which the orator was Marcelo H. Del Pilar and the secretary was Mariano Ponce.

In 1882 the Filipino colony in Spain in collaboration with a number of Spanish liberals, organized the *Circulo Hispano-Filipino* in order to work for reforms for the Philippines. The organization was headed by Juan Atayde. It published an organ, *La Revista del Circulo Hispano-Filipino*. And the Propaganda Movement had its organized, systematic beginning.

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(23) Francisco Villanueva, Jr., "The Death of Lopez Jaena," *The Filipino Teacher,* January, 1957.

(24) Alejandrino, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

(25) Teodoro M. Kalaw, *La Masonería Filipina,* Tr. by Frederic Stevens and Antonio Amerchazurra (Manila: 1956), p. 20.

(26) Artigas y Cuerva, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

(27) Kalaw, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

Ambeth Ocampo

III.

THE ORATOR

Jose Rizal, the greatest Filipino patriot and pride of the Malay race, assured Jose Alejandrino that "Lopez Jaena was the most talented Filipino he had ever known, even more superior to himself."(28) Rizal saw in Lopez Jaena latent potentialities which could be to the best service of the country if fully developed. Rizal did not like the bohemian and carefree tendencies of the Ilongo and on one occasion reproached the latter for not finishing his medical studies. To this remark Lopez Jaena retorted, "On the shoulders of slaves should not rest a doctor's cape." Rizal countered by saying, ". . . the shoulders do not honor the doctor's cape, but the doctor's cape honors the shoulders."(29)

Indeed Graciano was a gifted writer and a very effective satirist. But it was in oratory that he excelled and towered over his compatriots, so much so that he won the sobriquet "The Orator of the Propaganda," and in fact, still holds the title of the greatest orator ever produced by the Filipino people. The dean of Philippine letters, Professor Jaime C. de Veyra, sizes up Lopez Jaena's greatness as an orator as follows:(30)

> Lopez Jaena was an orator by temperament, by natural gifts. He was indeed born as one.
>
> In the annals of our literature, we never had an orator of greater stature.
>
> Dominador Gomez was his contemporary. We know the abilities of such shining figures as Manuel Rabago, who spellbound his audience like an inspired preacher, and Macario Adriatico, the master parliamentarian. With due respect to the memory of these men, the judgment is that none could hold a candle to Lopez Jaena. Neither Osmeña nor Quezon in the consummate fire of their eloquence could compare with him. Perhaps, Roxas in his best and in the plenitude of his maturity could proximate but not equal the man.
>
> Only one person could be said to parallel the forensic majesty of the man from Iloilo. That person was Pedro Pelaez, who met his death in the great earthquake of 1863. But the powers of Pelaez

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(28) Alejandrino, *op. cit.* p. 39.

(29) *Ibid.*

(30) Foreword to *Discursos y Artículos Varios*, 1951 ed.

were geared to the pulpit. He could be said to be Lopez Jaena's precursor.

A critic of the newspaper *Los Dos Mundos* wrote of him:(31)

> His words are persuasive, fiery, fearless, great, as powerful as the battering ram. With unalterable impulses, the eagerness of Jaena is indefatigable; he points out the evil and wants to draw it out from its roots; for this reason, his doctrines may seem dangerous; his fiery words have all the vehemence, the energy, the impetuousness of a parliamentarian.

And his compatriot and collaborator on the *La Solidaridad,* Mariano Ponce, speaking at the Opera House in Manila on the occasion of the 17th anniversary of the death of Lopez Jaena, said:(32)

> In the republican clubs of Cataluña, Lopez Jaena was regarded as almost an idol; his words electrified the people and aroused their enthusiasm.

x x x x

> His words which flowed from his lips like burning lava from a crater of a volcano, convinced us. They gave us no time to think, they made us feel in an imperious manner, dragged the masses with them, exciting their enthusiasm to the utmost degree....

Lopez Jaena's physical qualities were unfavorable to him as an orator. He was of medium height, with a frail constitution, stuttered somewhat, and had a very pronounced Visayan accent.(33) Yet he was the most applauded orator in lodges, political reunions, and important banquets.(34) Even men of high culture and learning acclaimed him.

In clothing, too, he did not appear tidy and sleek as most effective speakers do. He was slovenly dressed and since he could hardly afford new suits, was often seen in an old, tattered attire. One time an officer in the Spanish army, and a friend of the Filipinos, Captain Agustin Blanco,(35) felt so sorry for him, that he took Lopez Jaena to a tailor, had a new suit made for him, and destroyed the old one so that he could not put it on again. For as General Alejandrino noted, he had the habit of going back to his rags.

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(31) *Cf.* Jose Rodon, *Homenaje á Luna* (Madrid: 1888), p. 93.

(32) Artigas y Cuerva, *op. cit.,* p. 14.

(33) Alejandrino, *op. cit.,* p. 38.

(34) *Ibid.*

(35) *Ibid.*

It was said that at a banquet, at the height of his enthusiasm, Lopez Jaena would pick up his napkin, wipe his face with it, and throw it on the table to drive home his perorations. But the Filipino Demosthenes was not without a lighter side. During a banquet at the Ateneo de Barcelona, he digressed from his subject and began to give imaginary facts. A Filipino who was seated by his side tried to pull on Lopez Jaena's coat to attract his attention. Unheeding his countryman's promptings to go back to the subject, Lopez Jaena went on with his digression. After the speech the Filipinos reproved him for what he did. Lopez Jaena only laughed and said, "If what I have said was not true, no one of those present would belie me either because on that subject they were as ignorant as I am."(36)

Impromptu and extemporaneous speaking was his forte. Most of his speeches were sparkling improvisations of the moment. In this sense, he so rightly deserved to be described as a "natural" speaker. Professor Gabriel F. Fabella says that Lopez Jaena delivered perhaps more than a thousand speeches.(37) When Rizal arrived in Spain in 1882 Lopez Jaena was already a popular person in political circles in that country, and was having quite a time fulfilling speaking engagements. It is sad enough, however, that of the total number of speeches that the Ilongo patriot delivered, only nine have been collected and published for posterity. These are the addresses and speeches included in his *Discursos y Articulos Varios,* published by the Imprenta Iberica de Francisco Fossas of Barcelona in 1891.

In his orations, Lopez Jaena proclaimed the glory of his beloved country by praising her natural beauty and wonders, her immense natural wealth, and her great though enslaved people. Speaking at the banquet given by the Filipinos in honor of the painters Juan Luna (who won the first gold medal in the National Exposition of Arts in 1884 for his *La Spoliarium*) and Felix Resurreccion Hidalgo (who obtained the 9th silver medal for his *Las Virgenes Expuestas al Populacho*), the orator said:

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(36) *Ibid.,* p. 39.

(37) Fabella, *op. cit.*

> Philippines, I salute you with invocation of hope on my lips! Behold her! The blue sea is her mantle, the most beautiful in her crown. Whoever has not seen those islands has not seen the loveliest spot on earth.

Giving his speech a lively twist so characteristic of him, he called attention to her political condition by continuing:(38)

> See her like a beautiful and tender damsel couched on her fragrant silvas, expecting to awake from her dream of love to find the brilliant stars of progress at the horizon of civilization.
>
> At last, Oh, Filipinas, after a dark night of more than three hundred years, there has dawned upon you the radiant sun of justice. All Europe views with ecstasy the first fruit of your sons, Luna and Resurreccion, in spite of that theocracy, ever despotic and ignorant, living amid shadows and mysteries, that for centuries has refused you the entrance to the concert of modern culture.

Then heightening his enthusiasm, he let loose with the following barrage:(39)

> When I behold the painting of Luna, above the terrible, above the union of all the horrors which present to my sight a barbaric scene (of dead Roman gladiators being dragged out of the arena) I feel something which is lost in the mind of the artist and which the brush cannot transmit to the canvas. For me if there is something sublime in the *La Spoliarium* it is because behind those painted figures there floats the living image of the Filipino people crying its misfortune. Because, gentlemen, the Philippines is nothing more than a real SPOLIARIUM with all its horrors. There, in all parts lies despoliation, human dignity is ridiculed; the rights of men have been trampled upon; equality is nowhere; and liberty, ashes and smoke.

Up to the early period of the Propaganda Movement Lopez Jaena regarded himself a subject of Spain. "Before a Filipino and an Indio," he said, "I am a Spaniard."(40) Like Rizal, Del Pilar and other Propagandists, he only wanted reforms for his country. He wanted to see his people considered the equal of the Spaniards, enjoying the same privileges under the laws as the latter, the same human rights and freedoms.

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(38) *Discursos y Artículos Varios,* pp. 30-35.

(39) *Ibid.*

(40) Paz T. Policarpio, *The Literature of the Propaganda Movement, 1882-1895.* Unpublished master's thesis (Manila: University of the Philippines, 1925), p. 44.

Before the editorial staff of the *Los Dos Mundos* at a banquet in the English Restaurant in Madrid on April 27, 1883, he concluded his speech thus:(41)

> I close, at last, toasting for the immediate freedom of the press in those islands in order to express and spread our thoughts. Freedom of the press is the modern steamship of ideas and the telegraph of progress. I invite and demand for the freedom of thought, for the right to make unions, for the free exercise of personal rights in that beautiful region upon which still hangs heavy the hateful birth marks of obscurity. I toast that like Porto Rico and Cuba, those islands may have their representatives to the Spanish Cortes, the sole expounder and faithful echo of the aspirations of the people. I toast for a better union of the overseas and peninsular elements which I consider indispensable for the realization of our ideals; I toast for the freedom of commerce, the complete manifestation of our activity. I also toast for the prompt disappearance in all overseas possessions, and especially in the islands, of retrogressive elements which are the friars who pollute them, the hindrance and obstacles of the country's progress.

The friars were the people whose expulsion from the Philippines was the theme of most of Lopez Jaena's orations. He claimed that it would be to the interest of Spain if the friars were driven out of the Philippines. In his speech at the Ateneo de Barcelona which was attended only by men famous in the world of literature, art, and science, he said that like France and England which did not allow friarism to dominate their democratic institutions, Spain should save the Philippines from the religious orders, for(42)

> The friar is the omnipotent factor of the nothingness, of the backwardness, of the misfortunes of those Oceanic Islands. In their hands are the keys to knowledge, science, and morality, but they teach religion by spreading fanaticism; they imbue folly, and they corrupt the people instead of educating them. . . .
>
> As it is impossible to unite sunshine and shadow, day and night, so it is not possible for monasticism and progress to live together.(43)

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(41) *Discursos y Artículos Varios,* pp. 28-29.

(42) *La Solidaridad,* Feb. 28, 1889; *Discursos y Artículos Varios,* p. 14.

(43) *Ibid.*

He refuted the argument that the friars and not the government were preserving the Philippines for Spain but claimed that on the contrary, it was the government which was preserving the Philippines for the friars to exploit and despoil. Supporting his stand, he said:

> The friars do not recognize any mother country but their prior, any law but their constitution; their motto is to be irreconcileable; they reject progress in every country they prey upon.(44)

He explained why he was seeking the help of the Spanish authorities of Spain in the fight against the religious orders in the Philippines.

> Engaged in this struggle are the Filipinos and the friars. It is not a struggle between religion and religion; nor a struggle by a country against another country; but it is a struggle for life: a defense from exploitation, a fight to life in these modern times, to life of liberty, of democracy.

The applause-interlaced speech was ended with an appeal for action.

> Spaniards, it is time to look after your unfortunate Philippines, to free its people from the tyranny of the monks who rule in their towns. . . .
>
> A nation like Spain, which has such a treasure in the Orient, a Valencia garden in Bulacan, a Cuba in the island of Negros, an industrious and industrialized Cataluña in Panay, a Puerto Rico in Batangas, an Arabia in Cavite, and lastly a Venice in the poetic and lovely shores of Manila; a nation which has such a pearl in the Orient, has still hope of making itself great, and of recovering its pristine splendor and its ancient magnificence.

As years passed and the reform campaign did not gain much by way of getting tangible actual reforms in the Philippines, Lopez Jaena's stand gradually became more nationalistic. He began to direct his appeal more to his fellow Filipinos than to the Spanish people and government. The second time the Filipino colony in Madrid gave Juan Luna an honorary banquet for his *La Batalla de Lepanto,* Lopez Jaena declared:(45)

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(44) *Ibid.*

(45) *Discursos y Articulos Varios*, p. 37.

> It is time, gentlemen, to vindicate the Philippines from the sarcasm of some writers who say that we are good for nothing, intellectual pigmies unfit for progress and incapable for science... The individual pigmies. . . the small nations, in the course of time, may become giants.

Filled with passion and courage he unleashed his attacks against the so-called "sacred cows" of his day, unmindful of the dangers that may come to him for saying what he believed he had to say. While he was vividly picturing the said plight of his countrymen before the Congress of Geography and Commerce in 1883, where he made two speeches, a Sr. Carvajal reminded the chairman that Lopez Jaena's time had expired. In the manner of Patrick Henry, Lopez Jaena exclaimed:(46)

> I shall end by asking the chair to pardon my excitement, because I believe that in order to convince everybody, it is necessary to put heat into the ideas. I defend those ideas and I know the persecutions prepared for me for defending those liberal ideas, and if I were brought to Calvary or to Roca Tarpoya, still would I continue defending those you call Indios who ought to be equal, in every respect, with their brothers of the Peninsula.

On the occasion of the 391st anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, Lopez Jaena was among the principal speakers who represented several countries. His speech was so brilliantly delivered that when he was through, the Venezuelan ambassador to Spain, Dr. Calcaño, tearfully embraced him in the name of the Latin-American republic. In a dazzling piece of oratory the Ilongo said in part:(47)

> If America because of her geographic situation becomes the brain of the commercial world, the Philippines lying as it does in front of China and India, between the Suez and the Panama, will become the heart to which all the veins and arteries of commerce and industry of both oceans will converge.
>
> There surely in that country in the bosom of which wealth gushes anywhere, natural beauties and wonder abound, legal slavery does not exist, but indeed, a hundred times worse than slavery is moral slavery. Our minds and consciences are enslaved and even our actions and our breaths are fettered. It is a country where the sun of justice and

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(46) Galang, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

(47) *Discursos y Artículos Varios*, pp. 24-25.

> truth never shone. We do not want it to be a semi-feudal country that it is today.
>
> We want free press so that truth may shine forth in all its splendor. We want franchises in commerce so that we can manifest our activity. And lastly, we want suffrage, representation in the legislative chamber so that our aspirations may be known by the mother country and by the government. We do not want the friars, because they are and they represent, oppression, intolerance, fanaticism.

Mariano Ponce gives us the most accurate appraisal of the contribution of the eloquent, pentecostal — even if irreverent — tongue of Graciano Lopez Jaena to the cause of the Philippines. Ponce says:(48)

> His influence became a decisive factor among those people and to this was due the great sympathy that the Catalanes had for the Filipino people. So, for any petition or exposition which Graciano Lopez Jaena had to submit to the Cortes or to other public authorities on behalf of his people, the Catalanes were always on his side. In this respect, the service rendered by this apostle of liberty to the Philippines was immense.

IV.

THE JOURNALIST-WRITER

For lack of funds the *Circulo Hispano-Filipino* was able to print only two numbers of its organ, the *La Revista del Circulo Hispano-Filipino*. On January 2, 1884, the Filipinos in Madrid held a conference at the house of the Paterno brothers to discuss matters relative to the finances of the organization. A committee composed of Lopez Jaena, Pedro Paterno, J. Esquivel, Laserna, and Evaristo Aguirre was formed in order to confer with the old members of the club and with Juan Atayde, the president.(49) Up to the 13th of the same month, however, no definite step was taken regarding the raising of funds for the society.(50) The morning after that meeting at the Paterno home, Lopez Jaena invited the other Filipino leaders to a meeting at the *Cafe de Madrid* to discuss among other things, the idea of writing a book about the Philippines that had been suggested by Rizal. During the meeting Lopez Jaena volunteered that he would write a chapter on the Filipino women. Aguirre said he would also write on the same subject; Maximo Paterno said he wanted to write on it, too. There was a discussion as to who would write what, and Rizal that day entered in his diary his fears that the association would not get well.(51)

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(48) Artigas y Cuerva, *op. cit.*

(49) Osias, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

(50) Artigas y Cuerva, *op. cit.*, p.10.

Rizal was right. The society ceased to function soon after.

But instead of being discouraged by the failure of the *Círculo Hispano-Filipino,* Lopez Jaena added more zeal to his writing; his devotion to the cause of his country did not lessen or waver. It may be noted that Rizal, too, knowing that the other Filipinos were not so enthusiastic about his idea of writing a book that would picture before the world the true situation of the Philippines, undertook the writing of one himself, alone. What came out was the *Noli Me Tangere,* published three years later, in 1887.

Intensifying his efforts, Lopez Jaena took to himself the noble task of publicizing his country; of exposing the abuses perpetrated by the friars and the Spaniards in his native land; and answering every derogatory and slanderous writing against the Philippines and the Filipinos. To do this gigantic job he poured the products of his prolific pen into the editorial offices of no less than fifteen newspapers and periodicals in Madrid, Barcelona, and even far away London. Among these publications were the following: *El Progreso, España en Filipinas, Los Dos Mundos, El Travador, La Epoca, La Correspondencia, Revista Económica de la Cámara de Comercio de España en Londres, La Federación Iberica, La Libertad, Homenaje, La Bandera Social, La Publicidad, El Deluvio,* and *El Pueblo Soberano.*(52)

The writings of Lopez Jaena were less fiery than his orations, but they were no less beautiful, clear, direct, convincing, and logical. His works did not only have a penchant for democratic and liberal ideas; they were outrightly democratic and liberal. As such, it was consequential, if not natural, that they would hurt some obscurantist and anti-freedom elements. To make him stop writing against the friars and hurting the religious orders, Bishop Roman

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(51) Osias, *op. cit.*

(52) Artigas y Cuerva, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

Rodriguez Vigil offered him, in 1886, a good position that would support him financially all his life. This offer Lopez Jaena indignantly rejected, saying that his life belonged to the Philippines and not to the orders of the friars.(53)

His fame as a writer spread — even as his name as an orator was known far and wide — so much so that in 1888 the American ambassador to Spain offered to him the editorship of a periodical in New York, with an initial salary of $200 a month, plus shares in the profits. Declining the invitation, Lopez Jaena replied, "My intelligence and my pen belong to the Philippines and not to any foreign country."(54)

Knowing that Lopez Jaena was most of the time financially broke and knowing further that he was inclined to be carefree and bohemian, the offer of Bishop Vigil and that of the American ambassador were indeed great temptations to leave the cause of his country and attend to his own personal advancement. Such was the acid test passed by his fervent love of country and consecration to the cause of his people.

In February, 1883, Valentin Gonzalez Serrano wrote a disparaging article in *La Ilustracion Militar* where he spoke slightingly of the Filipinos, calling them so apathetic and indolent that neither time, nor circumstance, nor example, nor education, nor other elements of civilization combined could ever change them. Quick to come to the defense of the good name of his people, Lopez Jaena said in an article entitled "A Protest" that if the Filipinos were indolent, it was not because they were by nature an indolent people, but it was because of the poor education, the abuses, and arbitrariness that they received under the Spaniards. In 1887 the Philippine Exposition was held in Madrid under the management of a royal commissariat and an executive committee. The Filipinos (Moros, Igorots, and other native tribes) who were in the exposition were housed in a big *barracon* under poor, unsanitary conditions that many got sick and some died. This inhuman treatment of the *Indios* and gross disregard of their health and well-being were attacked by Lopez Jaena in a series of articles: "The Philippines in Spain," in *La Federacion Iberica;* "A Visit to the Philippine Exposition," in *El Progreso;* "What Inhumanity!" in *El Liberal;* and "We Are Obliged to Speak," in *El Liberal.*

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(53) Galang, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

(54) Somcio, *op. cit.*; Galang, *op. cit.*

There was no social evil, no cancerous growth in society, however malignant, that he did not uncover and expose to the public eye. In his "The Causes of the Afflicted Condition of the Philippines," he deplored the poor educational system in his country: (55)

> The children learn how to read correctly and how to write with flourish, but learn nothing of practical use . . . They are taught how to *pray*, but not how to *work*.

In the same article he also claimed that government monopoly in commerce and industry was detrimental to the Filipinos. He especially hit the practice of shipping Philippine gold and silver to China, England, and other countries as inimical to Philippine economy. In "The Question of Tributes in the Philippines," he attacked as unjust and socially unprogressive the imposition on the Philippine inhabitants of high taxes and tributes by both the state and the church.

On May 1, 1884, the governor of the province of Pangasinan, Joaquin Jobellar, made mass arrests of more than 1000 persons, including the father of Juan Luna, Gregorio Sansiangco, and Felipe Buencamino. The Filipinos in Europe reacted simultaneously. Rizal wrote "Filibusterism in the Philippines" in *El Progreso,* under the pseudonym "A Filipino;" Pedro Govantes published in *El Liberal* his "Events in the Philippines in May," signing his name as "P. Dro;" and Graciano Lopez Jaena contributed to *El Porvenir* his article "The Old Models" under his real name.

Again, on May 9, 1891, when Governor Carlos Peñaranda, also of Pangasinan, issued an order compelling all Filipinos of whatever station or rank, to take off their hats when meeting a Spaniard anytime in public, the great Ilongo avenger of the Filipino honor wrote: (56)

> The Indios are no longer meek lambs that are easily led to the butcher's shop. They have already sense of dignity and knowledge

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(55) From *España en Filipinas,* 1887. See *Discursos,* p. 112.

(56) *La Solidaridad,* Oct. 15, 1891.

> of their rights, they are men like the friars and the governor who issued the order, and as men they have understood that obedience to the law does not consist in uncovering their heads or in kissing the hands of their superiors, but in daily fulfilling their duties as citizens.

But the greatest feat that Lopez Jaena did as a journalist is still to be mentioned. This was his founding of the fortnightly *La Solidaridad* which became the official mouthpiece of the Propaganda Movement. Isabelo Reyes in his *Sensacional Memoria sobre la Revolución Filipina* writes about the birth of the paper as follows: (57)

> The Filipinos in Madrid founded, agreeable to Sr. Morayta, the *Asociación Hispano-Filipina* on July 12, 1888; and, having thought of the convenience of having an organ in Spain, the young Filipino, Graciano Lopez Jaena, who was of great initiative and of prodigious activity, founded in February 1889, the celebrated *La Solidaridad.*

The first number of the periodical came out on February 15, 1889, with an editorial entitled "Our Purpose" which actually was an enumeration of the aims of the Propaganda Movement.(58) The first issue was financed by a Filipino, Pablo Rianzares(59) and later the newspaper received regular allowances from the *Junta de la Propaganda,* a group of Manila patriots headed by Deodato Arellano, Juan Zulueta, Timoteo Lanuza, Domingo Franco, Moises Salvador, Marcelino Santos, and Timoteo Paez.(60)

The birth of *La Solidaridad* was enthusiastically acclaimed by the European Filipino colony. Writing a letter on February 2, 1889 to Rizal who was in London doing historical research work, Marcelo H. del Pilar said that the newspaper

> . . . was democratic in its criterion but much more democratic in the organization of its personnel.
>
> The Director Graciano edits, reports, corrects proofs, directs printing, distributes the number, and even takes them to the mail; the Administrator Naning (Ponce) collects data, edits, corrects proofs, writes leads, closes correspondence, and also distributes copies.(61)

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(57) Mariano Ponce, in *El Ideal,* Manila, Feb. 25, 1912.

(58) Agoncillo, *op. cit.,* p. 23.

(59) Artigas y Cuerva, *op. cit.*

(60) *Ibid.,* p. 19.

(61) *Epistolario Rizalino,* Vol. 2, pp. 119-121.

As editor of *La Solidaridad,* Lopez Jaena was given free house, meals, clothing, and a little money for minor expenses.(62) Under his management the periodical improved with each issue put out that Rizal wrote to him the following letter from London:(63)

> All are of the opinion here that the periodical improves with each number. Be careful not to insert any exaggerations or lies, nor to imitate others who avail themselves of dishonest means and use base and ignoble language to achieve their ends. Endeavor to make the periodical just, honest, and truthful, so that your opinion may be respected. It is necessary for us to show our enemies that we are better than they. By telling the truth we shall have won our cause, because reason and justice are on our side. There is no necessity for deceits.

The *Asociación Hispano-Filipina* and the Filipino organization for mutual help, the *La Solidaridad* of Barcelona,(64) decided to file a petition to the Minister of Overseas Colonies on April 25, 1889, for Filipino representation in the Cortes and the termination of the practice of deporting people without first being sentenced in accordance with judicial processes. Lopez Jaena subscribed to this idea and threw the support of the paper *La Solidaridad* behind the petition.

Lopez Jaena edited *La Solidaridad* from February 15 to December 15, 1889, when the paper was moved to Madrid; since he was not in a position to move with it from Barcelona, the editorship fell into the hands of Marcelo H. del Pilar.

In contrast to his rather verbose, bombastic speeches were his editorials, which were succinct, concise, and clear. With the passing of the editorship to Del Pilar, Lopez Jaena continued to contribute regularly and also wrote for other papers. He also took time to translate the words of the folksongs "Lolay" of Iloilo and "Balitaw" of Capiz into Spanish, and published them in 1891 under the title, *Islas Filipinas: Cantares de Bisayas.*

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(62) Alejandrino, *op. cit.,* p. 39.

(63) *Epistolario Rizalino,* Vol. 2, p. 152.

(64) The president of the *La Solidaridad* (the organization) was Dr. Galicano Apacible; the treasurer, Mariano Ponce, and the secretary, Damaso Ponce.

There was another periodical which he founded in 1891, the *El Latigo Nacional* ("The National Whip") which did not survive long. There was still another paper which in his letters to Rizal dated August 29 and October 2, 1891, he said he would found, intending them to be revolutionary. The paper, which was to have carried the name *El Baguio* ("The Storm"), was ready for publication, but it seemed that instructions and financial support from the *La Junta de Propaganda* in Manila and in Hong Kong did not come.

Lopez Jaena was not only an able journalist. He was also a novelist (having written two novels, *Esperanza* and *La Hija del Fraile*) and a literary critic. Right after the publication of Rizal's *El Filibusterismo,* an autographed copy of which he received from the author, Lopez Jaena wrote a letter, dated October 2, 1891 to Rizal who was in Ghent. Portions of the letter read:(65)

> *El Filibusterismo* is a novel superior to the *Noli Me Tangere* because of its delicate and exquisite literary style, its easy and correct dialogue, its clear, vigorous and elegant phrasings as well as for its profound ideas and sublime thoughts.
>
> The plot development is magnificent and of singular effect. I am charmed by the whole work: it has surpassed all expectations.
>
> But like Dumas, you started the novel with encouraging note, and ended it dryly after the fashion of Sue. Here's the defect, if a defect it is of your magnificent work:
>
> The setting in your recent production is sublime and poetic like the breaking of dawn in the far horizon, brilliant, limpid, as if to announce a pleasant and beautiful day; but your conclusion is like the closing in of a twilight, overcast with heavy clouds.
>
> You start inciting heroic passions, encouraging and inspiring beautiful hopes and golden dreams, spurring the masses on to glory; and you conclude filling the mind with dark visions, stirring in the heart cruel anguish.
>
> Your beginning like that of Dumas gives light, much light, magnificence, hope, happy dawn, rosy future, glory, immortality; but your conclusion like that of Sue depresses the heart, immersing the spirits in the nebulous abyss of despair.
>
> I think that since you have painted before the Filipino people a Simoun who is sympathetic, big, generous, although at times de-

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(65) *Epistolario Rizalino,* Vol. 3, p. 236.

praved, but behind which feigned depravity you endow him with a strong heart filled with gentlemanly cravings, you should have killed him at the end of the novel as a hero; dying in combat or perishing in flames of a conflagration, or struck and wounded by a lightning, or flattened in a cataclysm of a terrible earthquake and thus gave him a magnificent crown to his labors.

You have given in the novel no solution to the problem. To a beautiful political novel, your conclusion is not worthy. I would have liked to see a Simoun who succeeds magnanimously, if not riddled by bullets of the invading enemy as with reason you call the *Kastila*, under an immense role like Porthos of the immortal Dumas, keeping to the very death his intense energy and herculean strength or like Bernardo Carpio of the Filipino folklore, passed between the crack of two peaks which attack each other, stopping with his muscled arms, the impetuous clash, and shouting as he sees death coming, with face upward and serene: 'I have not come to fight against the lightning or the thunderbolts but against the Spanish government, stupid and crazy; against the friar made vile by his vices, tyrant and oppressor of my country; but Nature flattens me, annihilates me! Thus be it! I submit to its inexorable designs!'

I would have your novel end that way after having given impetus to the latent powers of the Filipino people. But I see you prefer to let the Filipino people solve the social and political problem which stirs in their midst. And in your magnificent work, you have closed the doors, all exits, with your ingenious resources of sound argumentation, sowing at the end anxiety in hearts, doubts, darkness, and disbelief in the minds, easy to dissipate, to clear and to comprehend by minds accustomed to thinking, but impossible to understand for those newly born to light, like our country folks.

I fear that our countrymen out there will never come to guess or see the solution to the enigma, and thus weaken in their despair. It is well, and this is the way I feel, that you write another novel which will solve the problem so as to hasten the coming of the beautiful day of redemption.

Such is my personal and friendly opinion, frankly expressed, on your new work whose conclusion submerges the reader in a despairing skepticism.

With regard to the review that I shall launch to publish in the Spanish press, I shall make shine the beauties of the book. If I have not yet done this, it is because some of our countrymen, admirers of yours, counsel that we hold the publication until a good number of the books had entered the Philippines.

On the same day of October 2, 1891, the Filipinos in Cataluña also sent Rizal a congratulatory letter drafted by Lopez Jaena. The letter described *El Filibusterismo* as a "precious jewel in the now decadent literature of Spain."(66) The signers of the letter were, besides Lopez Jaena, Santiago Barcelona, Enrique Magalona, Isidoro de Santos, Raymundo Andres, Emiliano Camacho, Bernabe Bustamante, Santiago Ycasiano, Jose Gustillo, Ramon Riego, Felino Cajukon, and Vicente Reyes.

Just as he gave advice and constructive criticism to the Filipino leaders, he also wrote counsels to the Filipino people in general, including the women. Witness his article "A Phrase of Affection to the Beautiful and Elegant Women of the Philippines:"(67)

> Upon you, adorable Filipinas, depends the regeneration of our great archipelago. With the wealth that you prodigally give to the religious brotherhoods and sisterhoods for the maintenance of the magnificent church services you have enough to make the Philippines civilized, prosperous, and happy.
>
> With these capitals you could establish schools, found colleges independent of the direction of the Jesuits and friars, where children could be educated along the line of education and real virtues; where they could be taught human knowledge necessary to progress; build hospitals where you can study and practice the real science of health. You can foment agriculture by using modern implements. You can establish industrial centers where various activities can be done. You can pension bright young men to old Europe and young America where they could study the advancement of humanity, the progress along the lines of living and to come to serve the land that still groans beneath the oppressive yoke of an infamous theocracy. That is what Japan has done and is doing and Japan at present is the Paris of the East.

For sixteen years the pen of Graciano Lopez Jaena was kept busy presenting, arguing, awaking, moving what was to be presented, to be argued, to be awakened, and to be moved until the atmosphere became so ripe for a revolution — and a revolution did come.

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(66) *Epistolario Rizalino,* Vol. 3, p. 216.

(67) Somcio, *op. cit.*

V.

RELIGIOUS AND SOCIO-POLITICAL IDEALS

When he finished his studies at the *Seminario de San Vicente Ferrer* in Jaro, Graciano Lopez Jaena was judged the best theologian of his class. His mother, a devout Catholic, thought she would want to see him take up the priesthood. But Lopez Jaena did not want to be a priest. He wanted to be a doctor. This does not mean, however, that he was not a religious man. Like Rizal he was deeply religious but practical in his religion, in the sense that he had great faith in God but did not allow himself to be cowed and fooled by the corrupt and greedy religious leaders of his day.

Lopez Jaena was for religion but was strongly against fanaticism and the abuse of religious practice. He believed that religion should try to save not only the soul of man but also his body. He wanted to strike a balance between spiritualism and materialism, inasmuch as a healthy soul should thrive in a healthy body. Writing in *La Solidaridad* for February 28, 1889 he said:(68)

> I must say here those words of Jesus Christ, but I must invert the terms. Jesus Christ said that man does not live by bread alone but also by the word of God. Now I shall say that man lives not by word of God alone, but also by daily bread.

He preached that religion should strive to be progressive and meet the needs of the time if it had to serve best the people. In one of his speeches he said:(69)

> The Filipino people are eminently Catholic, that their Catholicism borders on superstition; but since this Catholicism is not associated with the powerful lever of progressive work in relation to modern social progress, we find our country in the prostrate position in which it is lying at the present time.

He advocated immediate and radical reform in the government because "Catholicism alone will kill the activity of men and will make the people indolent . . . Catholicism upheld Spain during the 17th century because Catholicism was the religion of the time, but the times have changed, now the system is incomplete, unnecessary."(70)

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(68) *La Solidaridad,* Feb. 28, 1889.

(69) Speech before the Congress of Commerce and Geography.

Writing to the Filipino women, he urged them to help undertake the building of more schools and hospitals, the improvement of agriculture and industry, and the education of the brilliant youth of the country, instead of just generously giving support to the religious brotherhoods and sisterhoods which were lucratively competing for their generosity. The friars, in Lopez Jaena's view, were obstacles to progress and their interests antithetical to the general welfare of the Filipino people.

Believing in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Men, he joined the Masonic fraternity, where he found upheld his ideals of Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity. He considered all men equal before God regardless of their race, color, or creed. To the claim that only the *mestizos* in the Philippines were capable of progress, he wrote in answer:(71)

> We do not consider as superiors the *mestizos* nor as inferiors the *Indios,* because if there are creoles or *mestizos* who shine in all branches of knowledge, there are also *Indios* who in a marvelous way, shine in the pure sky of the arts, sciences, and letters.

Following his argument of progress and change, he said that someday the Filipinos will become a great people, for the "pygmies may in the course of time, become giants."

Standing for equality among peoples, he was opposed to colonialism because he had noted in his own country that colonial policy was one of sheer exploitation, and as such it was "the synthesis of all the causes that were reducing the Philippines into frightful decadence."(72)

Men should enjoy freedom. In several speeches and articles he cried for freedom of the press and speech for his oppressed countrymen; he asked for the right to form associations, to assemble and petition for redress of grievances; the right to engage in commerce and trade, to develop their own natural resources, to elect their own public officials; in short, to enjoy the powers of self-determination, to be the masters of their own destiny.

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(70) *Ibid.*

(71) *La Solidaridad,* April 30, 1889.

(72) *Discursos y Artículos Varios,* p. 33.

Lopez Jaena was an advocate of universal suffrage. He believed that in all important questions "it is not sufficient to get the vote of only those who will be favored; it is also necessary to hear the voice of those who will be hurt."(73)

He argued that progress and prosperity cannot be enjoyed by the people in a society where they are enslaved. Even labor is hampered. The people are either forced to render so much work or don't strive to do good work . "Labor is the law of humanity," he said, "but man will resist too much labor."(74) And not only labor will be hindered when people are fettered; the flower of learning and education will also wither. To paraphrase Dr. Jose Burgos, what Filipino would aspire to the seats of the wise and the learned when he knew that only among the privileged few are dispensed the sinecures of gain and profit? Writing on the death of the patriot from Bicolandia, Jose Ma. Panganiban, Lopez Jaena defended Panganiban's not completing his medical studies in order to work for the redemption of his country. Lopez Jaena said degrees and titles have no meaning to a downtrodden people:(75)

> It is beautiful to display caps and gowns in public tournaments, in scientific jousts, during normal times. But caps and gowns are not signs nor symbols of the dignification of men, nor do academic titles command respect afflicted with vicissitudes, where even the highest principles of human rights are trampled underfoot, where freedom is a myth.
>
> The gown was not made for the slaves; the Romans did not wear it until they had succeeded in breaking their chains.

Lopez Jaena believed in forming associations and in engaging actively in politics. In his letter to the Filipino Association of Hongkong, he explained:(76)

> The associations are powerful weapons to check the absorption of aristocratic and absolute powers; out of well organized associations come

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(73) "A Political View," *La Solidaridad*, June 30, 1889.

(74) *Discursos y Artículos Varios*, p. 65.

(75) Domingo Abella, "Panganiban, An Indio Intellectual and His Times," *The Journal of History* (Manila: Philippine National Historical Society), Vol. 6, No. 1.

(76) Artigas y Cuerva, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

> forth democracy and free states because they are the practical schools of equity, liberty, and equality. A member practices his rights by expressing his opinion, his vote which conjoins with those of others, yielding the results to the majority.

Politics embraces all aspects of human activity and as such a people in order to be progressive, must possess and enjoy political freedom.

> Bear in mind that the progress of the nation is based on political freedom because it is the mother of all kinds of liberties.
>
> It is a great mistake committed by demagogues who separated economy, commerce, and agriculture from politics for those are the basic foundations for the progress of the nation.
>
> Remember that politics... intervenes in our minutest action, even in the water we drink. What is true to an individual is also true to the state; so the nations that have the highest conception of political freedom are the most progressive ones.(77)

The above declarations are merely one way of saying that the government should make it its business and concern to attend to all and every need of the country and people and not just perpetuate the interests of the officials and their proteges, as was prevalent in Lopez Jaena's time.

If men were to be free during his time, it was necessary. Lopez Jaena pointed out, to introduce reforms in the government. He especially abhorred the union of the church and the state which resulted in oppressive tributes and taxes, in forced labor, in exploitation and despoliation. Radical reforms were necessary, yet to effect these reforms, Lopez Jaena wanted peaceful means. For years he agitated for reforms. But when every peaceful method proved to no avail, Lopez Jaena was among the first Filipinos to cry for armed revolt.

In an article, "The French Revolution" written in 1889, he voiced his consent to resorting to revolution if peaceful means failed. He said:(78)

> Without the French Revolution, humanity would still be under the most loathsome obscurantism and still be dominated by the severe hands

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(77) *Ibid.*

(78) *La Solidaridad,* May 15, 1889.

> of old tyrannies. Without it, we would not be enjoying that wonderful spectacle of the new conquests of science, especially in physics and chemistry — conquests which have given the lie to these unwarranted assertions of truth which formerly were taken for revelations.

Again, in a letter to Rizal where he broached his unrealized plan to run for representative for a district in Spain, he wrote:(79)

> As a deputy in Spain, I do not have any pretensions about being able to give to the Philippines her rights and liberties. These she must conquer with her own blood, in the same manner as her independence... I believe that the Philippines can only separate from Spain by means of revolution.

The letter was written in 1891, one year before the founding of the revolutionary *Katipunan* and five years before the outbreak of the Philippine Revolution. Unlike Rizal who did not favor armed uprising even to the end, Lopez Jaena was for it, for he had come to the conclusion that there was no other recourse. To enjoy life under a "regime of justice, liberty, and democracy," it was necessary, as Lopez Jaena saw it in the last few years of his consecrated life, for the Filipinos to be free and independent.

VI.

LATER LABORS

The patriotic and anti-friar activities of Graciano Lopez Jaena—especially his founding of *La Solidaridad* — made him a marked man and listed him among the top enemies of the friars and the Spaniards in the Philippines. His family in Iloilo which had been sending him his pension was persuaded, if not pressured, by the Spanish elements in the city to stop sending money to Graciano in order that he might come home to the Philippines and stop his attacks against the church and the government.

With the stoppage of his pension from his family, life became more difficult for him in Barcelona. He thought of going to Cuba, but at the suggestion of Rizal he decided to go home to the Philippines instead, in order to solicit more aid for the crusade that was being waged in Europe. Towards the end of 1890 he sailed from

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(79) *Epistolario Rizalino*, Vol. 3, p. 254.

Spain for the Philippines, using the name *Diego Laura* to hide his identity.

He reached his native country late in 1890 but did not stay long. The authorities somehow learned of his presence in Manila and he was prevailed upon by his friends and compatriots to leave for abroad at once. Yet in the short stay that he had with the members of the *Junta de Propaganda* in Manila, he accomplished many things. He learned first hand information on the political situation in the country. He infused more fire into the patriotic campaign in Manila and in the neighboring towns. He made clearer to the local patriots the Filipino fight in Europe. And finally, he convinced the *Propaganda* members to give a monthly pension of ₱40 on the agreement that he would write two articles for each issue of *La Solidaridad*. He was also able to raise a considerable amount from cash contributions.

While in Manila he stayed with the patriot Timoteo Paez, whom he initiated into Masonry and who later was to become first orator of the Filipino mother Masonic lodge *Nilad*, and with Moises Salvador, one of the martyrs of 1896. He also visited with Doroteo Cortes, president of the *Junta de Propaganda*, in Marilao, Bulacan, where he met with patriots from Caloocan, Meycauayan, and other towns. Among the other Filipino leaders he met were Deodato Arellano, who was to become a leading *Katipunero*, Marcelino Santos, Timoteo Lanuza, Domingo Franco (shot in 1896), Basilio Teodoro, Ambrosio Paez, and Ramon Basa (also killed in 1896).(80) In all his meetings, held in secret places, the highlight was his fiery, moving, stirring speech. An eyewitness of one of his conferences was his cousin, Porfirio Lopez, who narrated:(81)

> I was yet a child, when my cousin arrived. I remember that he was invited to a bamboo and nipa house in Tondo. The secret gathering was held in the ground floor of the house. Jaena spoke with such vehemence and fire about the cause of the Filipinos in Spain; after he finished his speech, there was a collection over a *tinaja* (earthen jar) which was circulated around.

When it became too dangerous for him to prolong his stay in the Philippines, his friends and fellow propagandists decided that he should leave on the first available boat for Hongkong. Pedro Javier Rodriguez obtained for him a free pass on the boat *Don Juan,* as first class passenger. The boat's skipper, Captain Beltran, was a sympathizer of the Filipino cause and protected him.

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(80) *Cf.* Artigas y Cuerva, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

(81) Francisco Villanueva, Jr., "Graciano Lopez Jaena," *The Philippine Outlook*, January 1949.

On the eve of the departure of the *Don Juan,* the friars held a banquet on board, in order to get Lopez Jaena into a trap. Lopez Jaena shaved off his mustache, dressed himself as a mess boy, and fooled the Spaniards. They did not recognize him even when he brought to them a lantern which they asked for. He left Manila with a very heavy heart — for he had not even met his family in Iloilo, except one brother, Marciano, who saw him in Manila.(82)

Finding the Filipino colony in Hongkong also active in propaganda work, Lopez Jaena stayed in that British possession for several months, up to July 22, 1891 when he sailed on the boat *Caledonien* for Spain. While in Hongkong he organized the Filipino Association of Hongkong, in order to make the Filipinos there work more effectively for their country. On his way back to Europe he penned a letter to this organization, saying:(83)

> The associations are powerful weapons to check the absorption of aristocratic and absolute powers; out of well organized associations come forth democracy and free states because they are the practical schools of equity, liberty, and equality. A member practices his rights by expressing his opinion, his vote which conjoins with those of others, yielding the results to the majority....

On his arrival in Europe the hero first sojourned in Marseilles but later, on October 12, 1891, he moved back to Barcelona where he founded *El Látigo Nacional.* On that same day he wrote to Hongkong instructing the members of the Filipino Association not to admit persons who applied for membership unless they were Filipino-born.(84)

He reported to Rizal what he had seen in the Philippines, and also told the latter that in the controversy he had with Del Pilar over the policies of *La Solidaridad,* it was Rizal that the Filipinos in the Philippines were backing up. The following year, when Rizal was in Hongkong on his way to the Philippines, Lopez Jaena requested him to send copies of *El Filibusterismo* to his brother, Domingo Lopez Jaena, in Jaro, Iloilo, care of Timoteo Paez in Manila. Again, when he learned of Rizal's plan to establish a Filipino colony in Borneo, Lopez Jaena wrote to him asking if he could join him in Borneo. He even asked Rizal to look for him a good piece of land that would be suitable for sugar cane.(85) This plan did not materialize and so for four years more the Ilongo patriot stayed in Spain.

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(82) Phyllis Tiongco, *A Critical Study of the Life and Works of Lopez Jaena.* MS. Master's thesis (Manila: University of the Philippines, 1953). p. 1.

(83) *Cf.* Somcio, *op. cit.*

(84) Artigas y Cuerva, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

Poor and penniless, he had to do menial jobs to keep his body and soul together. The *alcalde* of Madrid who admired his talents and felt sorry for him, gave him a job as inspector of employees and reviser of the records at ₱2.00 a day,(86) but even this job did not last long.

Working without surcease in the cause of his country, remaining single so that he could devote his time to it, undergoing all the hardships of living, Lopez Jaena even at the prime of life, fell victim to tuberculosis. On January 20, 1896 he died of consumption in a hospital in Barcelona, and was buried the following day at the Cementerio del Sud-Oeste of Barcelona — the first of the three pillars of the Propaganda Movement to fall in 1896, followed by Marcelo H. del Pilar on July 4, also in Barcelona, and by Jose Rizal on December 30, at the Luneta.

ONE LAST WORD

It is said that the manner of a hero's death determines, to a very large extent, his fame and glory. Lincoln's unfading honor was given much boost by his assassination by a lunatic; Rizal's name was written in the hearts of his people by his blood spilled on the field of Bagumbayan. Viewed in this light, Lopez Jaena made one mistake. He should have allowed himself to be killed by the Spaniards when he was in the Philippines in 1891. Missing the opportunity of a martyr's death, he missed the glory and immortality now enjoyed by Rizal.

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(85) *Epistolario Rizalino*, Vol. 3, p. 342.

(86) Somcio, *op. cit.*

# # #

A SHORT HISTORY OF NARCOTIC DRUG ADDICTION IN THE PHILIPPINES, 1521-1959*

By Ricardo M. Zarco

Background

To grasp fully the retrospect of a highly specialized type of a culture complex like narcotic drug addiction, a present cross section of Philippine society's culture is required. An over-all view indicating the various strata of influences, similar to a geologist's study of the earth's chronological composition, may prove useful to this account. To show at what layers or periods the practice of narcotic drug addiction has entered Philippine society is the main concern of this paper.

Filipino culture today is a stratified three-major-layer influence of (1) the pre-Spanish period, (2) Spanish rule and occupation from 1565 to 1898 and, (3) the American period, from about 1901 to 1946.

Sociologically significant are the effects of these three layers on the social classes and present regional groups. Pre-Spanish culture still prevails in isolated and rural regions, especially in the southern parts of the Philippines, where the Arabic-Moslem effect resisted change and assimilation into other cultures. However, the upper socio-economic classes reflect the Hispano-American layers which are ecologically situated in the thickly settled urban areas. Assimilation of Chinese culture as well as intermarriages are noted but the Chinese as a nationality group have remained ethnically distinct, due to their skills in retail trade which have led to their economic dominance. The Chinese have been persecuted and discriminated against ever since Spanish rule to the present, although their influence remained minor in contrast to the three basic layers. This is because the Chinese in the Philippines were only dominant within the field of retail, wholesale, import and export activities, but with regard to political power and governmental control, they remained weak.

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* An adaptation from an M.A. thesis submitted to the Graduate School, University of the Philippines.

At this point, the three major cultural influences will be presented, covering the period from slightly before 1521 up to 1959.

The pre-Spanish period (before 1521)

Pre-Christian culture in the Philippine Archipelago seems free from the utilization of the three principal narcotic-drug-producing vegetables: the opium poppy, marijuana and the coca plant.

Previous to 1521, which marks the entry of the Spaniards into the Philippines, "intoxicants were made from rice, sugar cane, and from nipa and coconut palms."(1) These beverages were alcoholic ferments brewed from the local flora. Other masticatory preparations from local materials were composed of betel pepper leaves, and the areca nut and lime, common to the peoples of many southwest Pacific and south Asian cultures. The inclusion of tobacco in this masticatory practice was probably brought into the Archipelago from the Moluccas soon after the Portuguese had introduced it there and before the arrival of the Spaniards in 1521.(2)

Betel leaf chewing had native terms which are considered today as local, such as *bunga* for the areca nut; *buyo* or *buyu* for the betel leaf; and *hapu*, *apug* and *hapug* for the slaked lime.(3) *Tabaku* is comparatively a new native term for the tobacco ingredient.

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(1) Fox, Robert B., "Prehistoric Foundations of Contemporary Filipino Culture and Society," *Comment*, (Manila) First Quarter, 1958, p. 47.

(2) Beyer, Otley H., "Outline of Review of Philippine Archeology by Islands and Provinces," *Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. 77, nos. 3-4, pp. 205-390, as cited by Conklin, Harold C., *Betel Chewing Among the Hanunóo* (Diliman, Quezon City, 1958), p. 16.

(3) Conklin, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-19. A detailed description and analysis of betel chewing is very adequately presented, and local terms for the ingredients are mentioned and profusely illustrated.

Alcoholic beverages, too, have native terms. Masticatory stimulants and alcoholic intoxicants were used in rituals and social intercourse, and are deeply ingrained into the native culture. But their effects are mild contrasted to the habituating nature of the products of the vegetable narcotics mentioned above.

These therefore were the closest to narcotic addiction practices which the Filipinos had before Magellan's entry into the Philippines.

Spanish Rule and Occupation from 1565 to 1898

Looking into the account written by the chroniclers of the Magellan expedition which described in detail the geography, climate, vegetation, physical types of the inhabitants, and their customs, beliefs and traditions, no mention of narcotic drug addiction is found.

The earliest account of opiate narcotics outside but very close to the Philippine Archipelago was made by Argensola at about 1609. He narrates the activities of a Dutch general who tried to befriend the King of Ternate, an island group in the Moluccas close to the southern portion of the Philippines, by giving the latter bales of clothing, rose water, gunpowder and several caskets of amfion (a name given to opium in the East Indies). The latter was a Dutch compound used for fighting, to take away the senses or disturb the reason.(4) However, the first mention of opium within the Philippines was by Bobadilla in 1631. He stated that the Moros of Mindanao used opium for dulling and intoxicating themselves in the attempt to ambush or assassinate the Spanish captain-general in Moroland at that time.(5) From these first two reports, it may be gathered that opium was used for gathering courage in preparation for a suicidal attack, ambushcade or war.

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(4) Argensola, Bartolome Leonardo, "Conquista de las Islas Malucas," (Madrid: 1609), edited and annotated by Blair, E.H. and Robertson, J.A., *The Philippine Islands 1493-1898* (55 Vols.; Ohio: Clark Company, 1909), Vol. XVI, p. 303.

(5) Bobadilla, Diego de, "Glorious victories against the Moros of Mindanao," (Mexico: 1638), edited and annotated by Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.,* Vol. XXIX, p. 91.

The use of opium in Manila at about this time was very probable. An Augustinian friar, Casimiro Diaz, recounts for the first time around 1641 in his work, *Augustinians in the Philippines 1641-70* (Manila: 1718), an incident wherein a person was arrested, imprisoned and tortured to reveal information, but totally refused, not due to his courageous nature but "because he had taken some confection of opium . . . which had so narcotic a virtue that it renders those who drink insensible to pain."(6) From the manner in which these early accounts described opium, the author seemed to have very little information about its uses, character and exact origin. Widespread use of opiates during this period is not likely even among the local Chinese communities. The rare use of opium in Manila from 1641-70 may have been for medical purposes; its origin, however, could not be ascertained. Tracing its origin by citing historical events previous to 1641, in 1601 the British East India Company was established. Opium from India was taken in small amounts into China. In 1602 the Dutch East India Company was likewise established and it competed for a trade market. Opium and other articles of trade were taken into the East Indies. Much of these articles entered the southern Philippine Islands. Argensola's *Conquista de las Islas Malucas* confirms Dutch participation as traffickers. Therefore the opium reaching Manila may have originated from two sources: from the British into China and from there into Manila through Chinese merchants who frequented its ports; and from the Dutch through southern Philippine waters.

Suggesting reforms in the Philippines, Manuel Pizzaro Bernaldez, *Reforms in Filipinas* (Madrid: April 26, 1827), advanced the idea of cultivating the poppy locally to supply the Chinese users. Bernaldez expressed the opinion that the Spanish governor-general's fear of the natives becoming habituated to opium was remote.

> In his [Bernaldez's] experience of seventeen years in various judicial positions in Filipinas he had never seen a

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(6) Diaz, Casimiro, O.S.A., "The Augustinians in the Philippines, 1641-70," edited and annotated by Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 183.

> scandalous case of opium inebriacy among the Chinese of Luzon nor any Indian [native Filipino] brought into court for using the drug; and the 'Indians without exception regard the use of opium with utmost indifference and contempt'. He thinks that it should not be prohibited in Filipinas since its use appears not to injure the Chinese there.(7)

Contrary to Bernaldez's recommendations in 1813, Jose de Gardoqui, the Spanish governor-general in the Philippines, prohibited the use of opium in the Islands. An edict of December 1, 1814 prohibited the introduction of opium into Filipinas, imposing on those who should violate this law six years of imprisonment in "presidio" and the confiscation of the opium; and those found smoking the drug were liable to a fortnight's imprisonment for the first offense, thirty days for the second and four years in "presidio" for the third.(8) Several years later a twist in events followed. On April 6, 1828, a Spanish royal decree gave permission to any person to cultivate the opium poppy in Filipinas and export its product therefrom.(9) But as to whether any interested party took advantage of this opportunity for opium production could not yet be ascertained at this writing. It can be inferred from the decree, however, that previous to 1828 the cultivation of the opium poppy was prohibited and that the produce of such an enterprise was designed for export, not for the consumption of the natives.

An American naval officer, Com. Charles Wilkes, writing on his travels in Jolo and Sulu, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years* 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, *1842*, gives ample proof that opium had already spread among some of the natives, not as a means of gathering courage for fighting but as drug addiction. In Wilkes' narration "*Sooloo, 1842*", he recounted his visit with Sultan Mohamed Damaliel Kisand of Sooloo [Sulu] "whose eyes were bloodshot and seemed to consume large quantities of opium . . . his son Datu Mohamed Polalu, constantly under the effect of opium."(10) Com. Wilkes was one of the earliest Americans to have entered the vicinity of Jolo. His five-volume work not only describes addiction in the Philippines but also opium dens in Singapore whose practices resemble those of the Chinese in the Philippines.

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(7) Bernaldez Pizarro, Manuel, "Reforms needed in Filipinas," edited and annotated by Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. LI, pp. 251-252.

(8) Montero y Vidal, "Events in Filipinas, 1801-1840," edited and annotated by Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. LI, p. 36.

(9) *Ibid.*, Vol. LI, pp. 53-54.

In describing the intoxicants and stimulants used by the Moros, Wilkes mentioned "cigars, drinking wines, liquors, tea, coffee, chocolate and their favourite pipe of opium."(11)

By 1842 the opium taken into the southern Philippines must have come from two sources: one was the Chinese settlements within the vicinity of Manila, and the other was Borneo, Sumatra, and New Guinea which, although geographically outside of Philippine territorial limits, have peoples who share many common cultural traditions with the Moros of the Philippines. Referred to as the Indian Archipelago, its inhabitants indulge in opium smoking. Crawfurd believes this to have been acquired from Arabic culture origins, "but the extensive and pernicious uses point to European and Chinese influences." Commenting on the poppy plant, Crawfurd emphasizes its foreign origin and believes it was not native to the Indian Archipelago; had it been so, then its use would be as coextensive as betel and areca nut chewing.(12)

On January 1, 1844, an opium monopoly was established in Filipinas. Opium addiction was at its height. Blair and Robertson, commenting on the situation at this time, mention several opium joints:

> There were 478 public opium joints which were actual hotbeds of immorality and were always full of Chinese. The use of opium in the Islands was intended for the Chinese residing there (being forbidden to Indians and mestizos) . . .(13)

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(10) Wilkes, Charles, Com. U.S.N., *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expeditions during the years* 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842 (5 Vols.; New York: Putnam and Company, 1856), Vol. V, pp. 336-337.

(11) *Ibid.*, p. 344.

(12) Crawfurd, John, *History of the Indian Archipelago* (3 Vols.; Edinburgh: 1820), Vol. I, p. 105.

(13) Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, Vol. LII, p. 318.

This opium monopoly was enforced only within Luzon and some Visayan Islands where the Spanish colonial government had full control. In the southern Islands such as Jolo, Sulu and Mindanao, where the Filipino Moslems or Moros continued their armed defiance of Spanish control, the use of opium prevailed and was not confined to the Chinese settlements there.

At this point a change of historical locale is necessary to indicate the drug addiction situation in China, since the Philippine Chinese resident's supply of opium came from the treaty ports located along the eastern coast of China. This addiction among the Chinese aided in spreading the habit among some Filipinos in whose midst they settled. The British East India Company (John Company) took opium into China, where opium had been previously sold in small quantities. Objecting to this trade, principally for economic and secondarily for moral and health reasons, a Chinese official, by command of the Emperor, destroyed over twenty thousand chests of opium (worth $12,000,000) at Canton, leading to war with England which touched off latent friction between Chinese and British economic groups. Called the "Opium War" (1840-42), the Chinese lost, resulting in a treaty of peace compelling the Chinese to open five ports to British trade and residence. The Chinese ceded the island of Hongkong to Great Britain, and in that place the opium trade centered. In 1845 the British authorities licensed twenty shops to sell opium at retail.(14) This was the height of the opium trade and addiction in China after the first Opium War.

More opium entered the Philippines, especially in Manila, for Chinese use. During the 19th century the Chinese communities in Manila alone had about 8 to 15 thousand inhabitants. Although authorities differ on the exact figure, the size mentioned is the range of many estimates.

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(14) *Ibid.*, Vol. LI, pp. 157-159. A more elaborate discussion of the Opium War is presented by Fairbank, John King, *Trade and Diplomacy on the China Coast* (2 Vols.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953), Vol. I, pp. 75-76.

Revolt, War and Unrest; Changes in Government, 1896-1901

The year 1896 marked the Filipino revolution against Spain. Colonial Spain had two foes, the native insurgents and later the attacking American naval fleet in Manila Bay.

On August 13, 1898, Manila fell under American military control and on February 4, 1899, the outbreak of the Filipino-American war marked the beginning of the end of the short-lived Philippine Republic. On July 4, 1901 the start of the American Civil Government was marked by the inauguration of Civil Governor William Howard Taft.

During these periods of unrest, drug addiction was forgotten by historians because of the change of emphasis to political and military events.

The American Era, 1901-1946

Dr. Victor Heiser, once Director of the Bureau of Health in the Philippines during the American civil rule, wrote a very interesting account of narcotic drug addiction which was confined only to opium then. Treating the subject on various aspects, such as opium banning, treatment of addicts, Chinese participation, smuggling methods, and opium joints in Manila, Heiser wrote:

> At the time the civil regime was instituted in Manila, there were two hundred or more places where the Chinese could buy a pipe and table space for twenty cents. Their contention was that opium, as they used it, was no more detrimental to their health as whisky and soda to a foreigner. But while they were satisfied with drowsiness and visions they obtained from their tiny pipes, the Americans and Europeans, when they took the drug wanted the full effect. In fear that the Filipinos might become addicts to the opium habit unless some means could be found of preventing its spread, a commission was appointed. After studying the opium question throughout the East, it recommended that the drug be excluded from the Islands two years from that date.
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> The first day of March, 1908, was 'Black Sunday' for opium habitués. The truth and seriousness of the situation final-

ly dawned on those who had sinned away their years of grace between the passage of law and its going into effect. The behavior of the victims in the face of the government's determination to save them by legal force would truly characterize them as fiends. The term fiend is used liberally by the laity, but becomes appropriate when the victim is deprived of drugs.

In sheer desperation the sufferers sought the hospital treatment provided by the government. The rush was so great and the task so hard that the San Juan de Dios Hospital, which previously cared for drug addicts, asked to be released on the ground that it lacked proper facilities for the accommodation and restraint of so large a number of frenzied patients. Accordingly, to meet the emergency, the government made ready several wards of the new insane department of the San Lazaro Hospital. There the addicts fought and screamed, threatened, and sulked until they realized the government meant business, when they quietly submitted.

Experience illustrated that the opium habit was not particularly difficult to treat, especially among the smokers. Those who took the drug by mouth experienced more inconvenience and those who were in the habit of taking it hypodermically suffered considerably. We used the Towne treatment as recommended by Dr. Alexander Lambert. Severe as it was, it was justified by the results. As soon as the craving for opium was gone, we proceeded to build up the patients. How many relapsed after being discharged from the hospital was, of course, unknown but many habitués professed profound relief at being cured. Alcoholism could also be similarly treated. It gave me satisfaction to pick up beachcombers and by the same method turn them once more into self-respecting citizens.

Upon the inclusion of opium and closure of the public resorts, the price of opium promptly went up which made it prohibitive for Filipinos, once they had to depend on illegal sources for their own supplies.

The Chinese are without doubt the most adept smugglers, and they soon devised ways and means of satisfying

> their simple needs. We are always finding opium in the most unheard-of-places. One day in my routine examination of imported foods, I made an unannounced inspection at the Customs House. A huge shipment of jam had just arrived. I had no reason for being suspicious but my eye traveled over the stacked cases. I said to one of the inspectors without knowing exactly why, 'I'd like to see one of those tins.' I took it in my hands, looked it over, and saw it was correctly labelled strawberry jam. Nothing apparently was wrong. Nevertheless, 'bring me a plate, please,' I asked the inspector. When I emptied out the contents of the tin, it seemed an unusually small amount compared to the size of the container. Examining it more carefully, I found it had a false bottom. Every one of the forty-eight tins in the crate was then opened, but only four contained opium. An examination of several thousand crates in the shipment showed that the Chinese computed mathematically the probabilities of detection, had filled just four cans each out of forty-eight in every case.
>
> Other smuggling devices were even harder to cope up with. Although the Filipino backyards were overrun with chickens and roosters, eggs were comparatively scarce. Consequently, huge quantities were shipped from China. A favorite ruse of the smugglers was to insert a hypodermic needle into the egg, withdraw carefully all the albumin and refill the cavity with opium. When the hole was expertly sealed, the illicit contents could only be discovered by breaking the eggs. Thousands were shipped by each Tuesday's steamer from Hongkong, and for a time the customs inspectors broke every single egg that came in.(15)

Opium was the only narcotic drug threatening Philippine society then, and except for the ban of its use on March 1, 1908 there were no other specific statutes on narcotics covering the Philippine drug-addiction problem. In the absence of other laws, the Harrison Narcotic Act of the United States was enforced in the Philippines. An American federal narcotic agent in the

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(15) Heiser, Victor, M.D., *An American Doctor's Odyssey* (New York: Norton and Company, 1936), p. 167.

United States, William Spillard, describing the law and treating the subject in a very popular style, writes:

> This law which makes it illegal to transport or sell narcotics without a license was the first law with teeth in it to be passed in this country [USA] to stop the traffic in dope [narcotics]. Prior to 1915, any citizen so minded could walk into any drugstore and buy any quantity of any kind of dope his body desired. All he needed was 25 or 50 cents. This would entitle him to enough morphine or cocaine to satisfy his craving for a two- or three-day period.
>
> When the Harrison law made it illegal for these drugs to be dispensed without a prescription, the addicts naturally had to turn to physicians for their supply.(16)

The Harrison Narcotic Act became inoperative with Philippine independence since 1946.(17)

Hereon, the Philippines under American rule passed more laws increasing the authority of government agents to control narcotics. In 1930 the Philippine Constabulary Chief, *ex officio*, became the Opium Custodian for all narcotics seized and, with a committee, had the power to destroy by burning, or export for refining, the drugs seized. By January 1, 1932, the Revised Penal Code of the Philippines under Title V contained five articles (Art. 190-194) relative to opium, opiates and the penalties for possession, use, importation, etc. The Bureau of Internal Revenue also had the sole power to import, sell, distribute, and license the production(18) of narcotics.

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(16) Spillard, William and James, Pence, *Needle in a Haystack* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1945), p. 10.

(17) The enforcement of the Harrison Narcotic Act in the Philippines and the conditions when this law became inoperative are discussed by Taningco, Paulino M., *Pharmaceutical Law and Practice* (Manila: Coronet, Incorporated, 1958), p. 56.

(18) There were no entities producing narcotic drugs during this era, but an attempt to request for a permit for cultivation of the opium was mentioned by Mrs. Salud D. Campomanes, Chief of the BIR Narcotic Section, when interviewed last March 3, 1959. Keeping records of the incident which she saved from destruction, Mrs. Campomanes opened a brittle sheaf of papers, yellowed with age. She recounted an incident way back

The Japanese Occupation: 1942-1945

Within this three-year period, trade with other countries abruptly stopped and all narcotics flowing into the Islands were solely for the use of the Japanese military forces. In a short time the hoarded drugs ran low and in all likelihood many addicts were "cured". During this period the Japanese Imperial Army's Intelligence groups arrested and forcibly addicted some Filipino resistance leaders, thereby utilizing narcotics as a military instrument.

Liberation and Independence: 1945-1946

The liberating American forces in 1945 took with them large amounts of narcotics ready for injection. Tiny tubes of morphine tartrate with a hypodermic needle attached were carried in first aid kits, survival equipment, and prefabricated hospitals by medics in the front lines. Many of these morphine syrettes were found in drug dens afterward. Other narcotics in powder and soluble tablets of American origin intended for legitimate uses were likewise found being used by local addicts.

The Philippine Republic: July 4, 1946 to early 1959

Narcotic drug addiction by this era had already taken various types and methods. Opium smoking and the use of opium

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in May 1939 when a prominent Visayan family, whose name she refused to reveal, applied for a permit from the BIR to cultivate opium poppies for consequent opium production, there being no specific law prohibiting the cultivation. The place where cultivation was planned was in Bukidnon, Mindanao, under the supervision of an Italian expert. The BIR assented, subject to the approval of higher authorities since there were no precedents. The Commonwealth President's secretary, Jorge Vargas, received the communication (the application) from the BIR and referred it to the American Resident High Commissioner, who further referred the matter to the State and Treasury Departments of the United States Government. The reply from Washington was a classic cablegram in diplomatic indignation. "Please inform appropriate Filipino authorities that the Government of the United States of America will not authorize cultivation..." Numerous reasons were stated. So on August 2, 1939, the application was revoked. Mrs. Campomanes emphasized that there was no actual cultivation and that good faith prevailed from all participants involved in this incident.

alkaloids such as morphine, cocaine and heroin had gained popularity.Synthetic drugs such as demerol and methadone also found slaves, many of whom were members of the medical profession and patients whose careless treatment resulted in addiction. The "Opium Law" of the Revised Penal Code of the Philippines (Articles 190-194) was proving to be inadequate, since it took into account only opium and its products, and excluded marijuana or Indian hemp and the synthetic drugs mentioned.

The coca plant entered the Philippines for cultivation sometime before 1941 or immediately after 1945, but there seems to be no addicted persons caught for its leaf chewing type of addiction. Marijuana, scientifically known as *Cannabis sativa L.*, entered the Philippines illegally in 1954 or 1955. Brought in for cultivation for mercenary reasons, the seeds were given by American merchant marine sailors to some Afro-American residents and Filipinos in Pasay City and Makati, Rizal. Grown in flower pots, its flowering tops and leaves are cut, dried and mixed with tobacco and rolled into cigarettes. Marijuana is thus sold to Manila's addicts and transients. American underworld participation was confirmed when arrested growers were questioned by Philippine Constabulary raiders last January 8, 1959.(19)

In Manila alone during a four-year period, from 1950 to 1954, the historical background of this report is still reflected; 229 persons were arrested for using and trafficking prohibited drugs (note the very small number of arrests). 94% of these are Chinese, the rest Filipinos.(20) The mode of consumption leans heavily on morphine injections rather than smoking. The probable reason for the change of use may be due to the fact that smoking opium is now difficult to be efficiently performed clandestinely due to its strong characteristic odor leading to easy apprehension, whereas injections can be performed almost anywhere with more privacy.(21)

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(19) *The Manila Chronicle,* January 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 1959; *The Manila Times,* February 6, 9, 12, 14, 1959; Parungao, Miguel, "Marijuana", *This Week Magazine* (Manila), February 1, 1959.

(20) Manila Police Records, from 1950-1954.

(21) Zarco, Ricardo, "Narcotics and the Addicts," *The Sunday Times Magazine* (Manila), March 8, 1959, p. 36.

Farmers of Masbate, Cebu, and Negros Oriental were found growing marijuana which was outlawed only recently by Republic Act 2060, which went in effect on June 13, 1958. From 1959, where this account ends, the future would be of great interest, especially to the writer, whose attempt to write a narrowed history on narcotic drug addiction in the Philippines may prove informative to the succeeding generations of interested readers.

Summary

Opium was the narcotic drug that first enslaved a few inhabitants and Chinese migrants in the Philippines. Previous to 1521, its use in the Archipelago must have been absent. The native practices which were closest to addiction were betel chewing and the use of alcoholic intoxicants. The earliest mention of opium in the Philippines' southern islands was made about 1609; the traffickers were the Dutch and the origin was most probably the east coast of India.

When the British took opium into China for large-scale trade where it spread rapidly, the Chinese immigrants to the Philippines likewise continued this practice locally and simultaneously with their compatriots in their homeland. Addiction reached its height during the latter portion of the eighteenth century. All those years that Chinese participation was dominant, the native groups may have been slightly affected too, but the protective governmental policies of Spain outlawed its use among natives and mestizos and therefore curbed its widespread use.

The American era banned the use of opium altogether except for medical purposes, fearing the spread of the habit among the Filipinos. Opium alkaloids gained popularity inspite of government restrictions, by displacing and substituting opium smoking.

Coca leaves and the plant itself entered the Philippines a few years before 1941 or slightly after 1945. The exact date could not be ascertained. Its leaf chewing form of addiction is practically unknown. Marijuana or Indian hemp was noticed to have been cultivated for drug addiction purposes last January 1959, and its entry is estimated to be about 1954 or 1955.

Laws today against drug addiction have shown a slow but adaptive evolution, starting chronologically with the outlawing of the opium, the poppy, its alkaloids and derivatives, marijuana or Indian hemp, and synthetic drugs and coca leaf.

Significant to this summary is the discovery of the lack of native terms regarding opium and addiction, and its absence(22) in folklore and customs, thus strengthening the argument that addiction to narcotics is of recent origin and not a Filipino pre-Spanish culture complex.

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(22) The writer has looked into the native artifacts of the Institute of Science and the University of the Philippines museum in Manila for narcotic paraphernalia, consulted local Tagalog scholars about native words pertaining to narcotic culture traits, delved into native folk tales where the use of narcotics may be mentioned, and finally consulted the University of the Philippines' Department of Anthropology to see if the use of opiates is practiced by any primitive sub-ethnic groups. The results were uniformly negative.

Even the terms used by the local underworld regarding narcotic use, addiction and paraphernalia are foreign.

# # #

LA SOLIDARIDAD: TESTAMENT OF FILIPINO LIBERALISM

By Petronilo Bn. Daroy

If anything immediately suggests the difference between the intellectual necessities of the Filipino intellectual before Independence and his counterpart today, it is their way of interpreting history. Before July 4, 1946, the concern of the Filipino intellectual was how to present the Filipino nation to the world, particularly to the powers that ruled the country. Then, as it is no longer the case now, the nation was under the necessity of justifying itself to those powers; it was under the right moral awareness that independence or recognition must be earned by our right to deserve it, that freedom is not only to be had through struggle but also through proofs of our very capacity to live it.

But after the grant of Independence, there was a shift in the attitude of our historical consciousness. We were no longer under the necessity of justifying ourselves to a foreign power. Our pressing concern became the search for ourselves; our attention was directed to the problem of defining our identity. This change in our historical awareness defines as well the shifting positions that Filipino nationalism has taken in our history. From the politics of national justification that the Revolutionary patriots engaged in, we have now come to the necessary politics of explaining ourselves to ourselves. I do not mean, of course, that we no longer have now the impulse to define our relation with the world. This seems hardly conceivable. Yet it is certainly true that the characteristic indignant perceptions of our intellectual life are dedicated now, more to analyzing, glorifying, and criticizing the national way of life.

As I have tried to imply, this shift of attitude is inevitable and expectable. Still we would be mistaken if we give the impression that because the Filipino intelligence in the nineteenth century was under the necessity of justifying the Filipino nation to Europe and the rest of the world, it was less liberal. The recent translation of *La Solidaridad* into English by Professor Guadalupe Forés-Ganzon of the Department of History of the University of the Philippines, will help to correct such an impression already formed by some of us who have not the equipment to read the Spanish original.

La Solidaridad declared itself as "a democratic fortnightly." Founded by Graciano Lopez Jaena, it was financed by Pablo Rianzares; its first number bears the date February 15, 1889, with its office of publication in Plaza de Buensuceso, Barcelona.

Now it is possible to say that *La Solidaridad* was an indirect legacy of liberalism in Europe, the political intentions of the ideas of its writers being greatly influenced by the political events that had taken place in Europe. By the time the first number of *La Solidaridad* came out, the Old World was already in an uneasy relation with America. France, unsettled by internal dissension, was beginning to look to the United States to gain a "clearer view of the polity that will be best for us, to find examples, [to] borrow from her the principles . . . of her laws." Thus Tocqueville expressed the general feeling of France. Germany under Bismarck was in conflict with the United States over the Caroline Islands.

For the Filipinos in Europe, what seemed to speak to the conditions in the Philippines was the defeat of the monarchy in France, the establishment of the sovereignty of the people, the absence of a politically powerful clergy, and the general condition of equality prevailing in the French republic. *La Solidaridad*, in an editorial on May 15, 1889, spoke of the Revolution of 1789 in France as the great force that shook the world from the bondage of reaction and hostile institutions; "without it we would not be enjoying the important discoveries of science, especially of physics and chemistry which disproved the solemn proclamations of so-called truths that were regarded as revelations." The homage is grossly inaccurate in its information. Even the generalization would not permit the assumption that the Revolution was directly influential in the significant discoveries in science which corrected many untruths about the physical laws of the universe. Newton, for instance, was a phenomenon in the seventeenth century and not after 1789, and even before the Revolution the system of Copernicus was already commonly accepted. Still, it is understandable why the propagandists in Spain should place so much stock on the results of the Revolution in France. They were intellectuals and their concern were ideas and ideals, especially those ideals that addressed themselves to liberal culture and progress. *La Solidaridad* is explicit about this in its statement of aims and purposes. While it chiefly concerned itself with the Philippine Islands, *La Solidaridad* was intended to be a vehicle against reactionism in thought and institutions.

> . . . Very modest indeed are our aspirations. Our program . . . is very simple; to fight all reaction, to hinder all steps backward, to applaud and to accept liberal ideas, and to defend progress; in brief, to be a propagandist above all of ideals of democracy so that this might reign over all nations here and beyond the seas.
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> The aims therefore of *La Solidaridad* are defined: to gather, to collect liberal ideas which are daily exposed in the camp of politics, in the fields of science, arts, letters, commerce, agriculture, and industry.

The belief of the propagandists in a refined democracy was inextricably linked with their patriotism. They understood that ideas and ideals have to be established through politics, and that politics, in turn, finds its issues in society, in the quality of life that it affirms. That is why *La Solidaridad* was mainly a political propaganda paper; the polemics with which it dealt with issues is to be explained by the fact that the ideas of reaction were strongly institutionalized in the Archipelago. Politically, the propagandists were not really for separation from Spain. Assimilation, the propagandists foresaw, could mean the transformation of the political status of the Philippines because Spain would become "honor-bound to take the Islands as part of the Spanish nation." Civil authority in the Archipelago was actually in the hands of the Spanish clergy, and the absence of Filipino representation in the Cortes kept the central government in Madrid ignorant of the actual conditions in the Philippines. The reports that reached Spain came from the friars, who were engaged in the politics of power against the civil officials and against the Filipino middle class, whose threatened social interests made them passionate advocates of liberalism.

The propagandists put so much stock on civil government; they supposed that because the crisis in the Archipelago was essentially due to misgovernment, the status of the Filipino people could be helped by recalling politics to its very order and justice. Marcelo H. del Pilar thought that the Filipinos were being denied representation for anthropological reasons; he believed that it was all because the Spaniards thought that the natives were quadrupes and apes. And Rizal, in "The Philippines A Century Hence" (which started its serialized publication in *La Solidaridad* on September 30, 1889), while noting the ethical failure of the ruler to educate the Filipinos, also believed that the matter of discrimination could be resolved by a change of policy on the part of the central government towards the Islands. It is certainly true that a lot of institutional errors could be corrected by political reforms, but it never occurred to the propagandists to suppose that the moral dignity and freedom of the Filipinos could not be restored if the Filipino people continued to live in a society whose culture and determinant forces belonged to a foreign nation. The propagandists were assuming, like John Stuart Mill, that tyranny and coercion are merely political and overt. They failed to conceive of coercion as capable of taking insidious forms, in which case tyranny no longer had to establish itself by force but merely by remaining available. For example, the attitude of some Spaniards towards the Filipinos as biologically in the category of baboons was not conditioned by the absence of a Filipino representative in the Cortes. It was an issue being used for political reasons but had little to do with politics. (The question demanded so much of the intelligence and scholarship of Dr. Ferdinand Blumentritt; it became an intense quarrel between Dr. Blumentritt himself and Mr. Barrantes and another writer who signed himself as "Quioquiap," and ended in the relinquishment by Blumentritt of his honorary membership in the *Real Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País*, because his defense of the Filipinos as biologically belonging to *Homo Sapiens* was construed as "*Anti-Hispanism.*") So that even if the Filipinos were allowed representation in the central government and extended universal suffrage, they would still have been discriminated against: they would have been the victims of the discrimination of condescension.

This cultural snobbery manifested itself over and over again in the Spanish press and in the attitude of the government towards the intellectual endeavors of the Filipinos. It showed itself in the reluctance of the Spanish government to allow the paintings of Juan Luna to be exhibited in the International Exposition in Paris, and in another instance the common reference to Filipinos as quadrupes resulted in Antonio Luna's spitting at the face of Celso Mir Deas, editor of *El Pueblo Soberano* who was married to a Filipina. The incident took place at the Cafe Siglo XIX and although Mr. Mir responded to the action of Antonio Luna with acceptance and resignation, the image of the Filipino — as "a motley mixture of different contradictory conditions and qualities . . . impossible to expose to curiosity and philosophical studies" and as having features "always inscrutable, his eyes, always sad, his mouth open to a meaningless smile, his step, always slow and his ways, always the same," and as defying reason and distorting the most logical conclusions — continued to exist in the Spanish mind.

On July 31, 1898, *La Solidaridad* announced with platitude the winning of awards at the International Exposition in Paris by Luna, Hidalgo, and Pardo de Tavera. *Civis filipinus sum*, the editorial said, could now be said in pride; yet, in another commentary in the same issue of *La Solidaridad*, we read Rizal disputing with one Mr. Vicente Belloc y Sanchez the latter's argument that the introduction of reforms in the Philippine Archipelago would "do harm to our [Spain's] peaceful and paternal rule" because the Filipinos were no better than savages.

It never occurred to the propagandists to suppose that what the Philippines would gain politically, she would forfeit by cultural subjection. What was even more obvious was that the Philippines, if it were to remain a colony of Spain, would continue to be subservient to laws the political modes of which would be central to Spain, not to the Archipelago, so that the introduction of political reforms in the country would be but an assertion of Spanish national interests.

But the propagandists never took the extreme position of advocating separation from Spain. They continued to work for the assimilation of the Philippines. The sporadic uprisings in the Archipelago were supposed by them to be the desperate efforts of a brutalized peasantry; they continued to tell the central government that these were all a result of errors of administration and that once political reforms were established in the Philippines, order would once more be restored, and the Filipinos would continue their allegiance to Spain.

The propagandists, of course, were only a little aware of the interests and intentions of the peasant class. Rizal's prophecy of the Revolution rested on the conditional premise that it would only come if Spain continued to refuse to grant the Archipelago the political reforms it needed. The propagandists were viewing the political situation from the position of the middle class.

On November 15, 1889, the offices of *La Solidaridad* were transferred to Madrid; on December 15, Graciano Lopez Jaena relinquished the editorship of the paper to Marcelo H. del Pilar, who was for assimilation. Yet, what was happening in the Archipelago was rather contrary to the expressed desire of the Filipino intellectuals in Europe. In the Archipelago the question was not just reform but revolution. The masses were beginning to insist on becoming the mediator of the political destiny of the Philippines. Rizal's disapproval of the Revolution may not be without justification. The political tone of the Revolutionists was a little raw; it was too little touched by the intellect. Consciously, the propagandists sought to move to a way of politics that would be a result of the power of reflection. They wanted a democracy characterized by its response to ideas and advancing by the discovery of the best of them. Rizal made moral reformation a condition to political independence, but the masses were too brutalized to stop for such considerations. Although the Revolutionists were eager to get the approval of the Filipino intellectuals, they were only willing to listen to the voice of one who represented their conditions and interests. Bonifacio soon became the man whom the masses wanted to be the disposer of the ideals of the Filipino intellectuals.

In this refusal of the intellectuals behind *La Solidaridad* to be committed to the crude schemes and ideals of the nation, we witness the beginning of the spiritual alienation and exile of the Filipino intelligence. # # #

BOOK REVIEWS

Vicente G. Sinco, *Education in Philippine Society*. Diliman: Publications Office of the University of the Philippines, 1959. 8" x 5-1/2". ix + 186 pp. Index. ₱5.00.

By Rex D. Drilon

From first to last, this new book by President Sinco of the state university is a good sample of a vigorous mind immersed in the liberal revisionist concepts of education as a tool for transforming Philippine society. The basic idea which runs through the book and which is repeated over and over in inimitable ways is that education's peculiar function is the rigorous training of the intellect on such a broad scale as to touch and quicken all its powers and therefore those of the personality.

The book contains fourteen chapters, some fairly long, some quite brief, but all equally meaty and characteristically crystal clear. From the mission of the U.P. as a public institution of higher learning to the kind of faculty and student body a true university should recruit, from education as a tool of nation building to the improvement of university standards and the role of a university in Asian cultural cooperation, from the relation of the university with science and research to the identification of vital issues in higher education, etc. — the whole gamut of education's aspirations and problems is treated here in kaleidoscope.

This collection of articles is based upon public statements delivered on several important occasions before university audiences and civic organizations. The highly praised inaugural, delivered before a big select audience when the author assumed the presidency of the University of the Philippines, is included in this permanent collection and stands out as a sound, statesman-like pronouncement by an authority. In this inaugural, the functions of a true university are outlined within the general-education framework which Dr. Sinco thinks is the foundation-stone of all education, including specialization.

President Sinco criticizes the proliferation of courses which he thinks leads to superficiality and unnecessary expenditure of time and effort and money. He inveighs against the undue emphasis on methods in education at the expense of substance and thorough mastery of subject matter. He deplores mediocrity in faculty performance and student scholarship. He minces no words against the shallow teachers colleges and by implication views with suspicion the unproductive scholar who merely parrots the ideas of others. In short, he looks down upon sloppiness and charlatanism whether these be found in a person or in an institution. Throughout the book he stresses the imperious demands of perfectionist excellence as the goal of true education. The public school system as such in this country comes in for a terrific drubbing.

Here is a man in high position fighting the *status quo* with a stubbornness that could arouse resistance from conformist and obscurantist quarters but admiration from those who plug for new adventures in refreshing change. Stagnation and repetitive routinary motion, the servitude to the herd, the fear to reexamine "revered" traditions that are no longer germane to the context of a changed and changing world — these are the things that Dr. Sinco fights for to hasten a new future for a new country. And so he lambastes commercialism in education, fanaticism and intolerance in religion, narrowness in nationalism, crassness in politics, superstition of race. And so he wants the universities of the country to purge themselves of their dross, he wants the government university to be the consummate flower of Filipino maturation and thus mark the Philippines as worthy to be reckoned with among the respected countries in Asia.

That is why he wants ideas — fertilization of ideas — no matter from what sources they come. In private conversations he expresses a conviction that American ideas as such must be fertilized by European ideas, and as all these come to the Philippines to blend with Filipino ideas in the vast backdrop of our Asian heritage, a rich civilization will develop, as it has been developing before our very eyes for countless years. Civilization, as the "sum total of the contributions of many races, many regions, and many philosophies that have passed through the process of selection and crystallization in the choice of the best and the noblest", has meaning for the Filipino only if he first exhausts his own self-discovery and contributes his own genius to that sum total. That is why the author has said in public and private that special effort must be exerted to stress Philippine studies because the Filipino must know the rich treasure-trove of his past before he can use wisely the accretions from sources outside his own.

The style of the book is so clear and the thinking so logical that there is no mistaking the texture and direction of the Sinco mind. And yet the very simplicity of phraseology is deceptive because the superficial reader who looks for pedantry and tinsel language will miss what is hidden behind the simple construction of the pregnant lines and the unusual precision in the use of words. (After all, the profoundest and wisest thoughts in any language are couched in the simplest and clearest terms.) The purity of Sinco's English, uncorrupted by the cumbersome frills and the labored superfluities of writers who are not really writers, is the measure of his culture. The fact that his scholarship is broad and sound, whether he speaks on education or in the field of law, in which, long before, he had made a name as a constitutional authority, speaks of the depth and breadth of that culture.

The book has a strong appeal to the upper crust. Educationists, social scientists, college professors, government officials, and college students should read it. The reader will profit most from it if he reads slowly and ponders the implications of the social assessments. Isolated direct quotes from the book could be framed and hung on the wall with the same pride one gets from older sources.

It is not commonly known that Dr. Sinco wrote his fifteen books and numerous scholarly articles and speeches by dictating to a stenographer. He can dictate for hours and hours with sustained concentration no matter what the interruptions are. This new book is a result of such dictation in the midst of other preoccupations in his job as president of a university. He edits his own works. All this is mentioned not as a digression but as an emphasis that he is his own master in the field of scholarly thinking as well as in his present position as an executive and a leader of men.

Since no one ever writes a perfect book, one weakness that might be mentioned in the present volume is that the brief chapters could well have been developed more fully like the others. The effect of deliberate abbreviated treatment is like appetizing food at the start, only to find that there is no more to eat once the appetite has been fully aroused. Which probably in this case is a device of strength, not a weakness, based upon the "theory of curiosity". But if it be a weakness, this is anticipated in the author's Introductory when he says that "...the work is not intended as a unified presentation... but rather a series of separate discussions . . ." Besides, that would have made the book thicker than was originally intended. Elaborations on Dr. Sinco's abbreviated ideas can be found in his published and unpublished works.

If anything, *Education in Philippine Society* could well be a precursor of more books to come in the same field, judging by the healthy restlessness of the author to influence education in this country and to change the face of the University of the Philippines in his capacity as president, just as there were a number of books that flowed from his pen when his chief preoccupations were then those of professor and dean of law.

# # #

"Students of Rizal," *Rizal: Versatile Genius*. Iloilo City: Central Philippine University Press, 1958. 254 pp. ₱5.00.

By Ardee Dec

This is a book authored by a number of college students on the many-faceted talent of José Rizal. The present experimental edition in mimeographed form could well be printed later, with some revisions, in a more permanent format.

Rizal is presented here in a traditional way, that is, his gifts of mind and character are identified, dilated upon, and praised — in a manner no less than hero-worshipful. This is understandable and laudable, first, because Rizal deserves praise, second, because the uniformly laudatory temper that runs throughout the book is the temper of young students inspired by Rizal's ideas and by what eventually he became.

Rizal as agriculturist, artist, athlete, businessman, citizen, economist, educator, engineer, historian, journalist-essayist, linguist, lover, novelist, patriot-martyr, philosopher, physician-surgeon, poet, politician, psychologist, reformer, scholar, scientist, theologian, and traveler — this is the long alphabetical enumeration of the man's amazing gifts, each item forming a chapter in the book, plus 54 pages of "Rizal quotes" and maxims toward the end.

The fact that this book was written out of the students' own warm volition, with the approval of the President of Central Philippine University (Dr. Almus Oliver Larsen), is something to be admired. For here is a group of young people at their age doing some initial serious thinking and reading about an unusual countryman of theirs whose ideas resisted an empire and the example of whose life has deeply touched their own. When young people are moved in that manner by Rizal and write this book, there must be something precious astir in that American-owned university in the South which gives quality to its teaching.

The unreconstructed critic may say that the book, being a product of young students, lacks critical analysis and abounds in too much hero worship. That may well be. However, if deep analytical thought is sought, if full maturity of treatment is expected, if exhaustive exposition is demanded, then the reader will have to go elsewhere to get it. If that is the attitude, an important point is missed and the critic does not know where to look for the right things in the right places. For here is a piece of work which clearly indicates where the wind is blowing — young people's minds being set afire by their subject, without prodding and without ulterior motive, but just possessed by a will to search and find out who Rizal was and why he became what he became.

Such spirit is the spirit of the "hope of the Fatherland". Some day these young people will come to a man's estate and that spirit of search will flower into fuller form and dazzle the world as Rizal's spirit did in his time.

Another interesting thing is happening on the campus of Central Philippine University. On its 54-year-old, 24-hectare campus, which by the way is one of the most beautiful in the country today, the American members of the faculty encourage Filipino nationalism. Claro Recto is a much admired nationalist there. The President himself, Dr. Larsen, wants the Filipino students to search deep into their past and bring out their best for the present and future. Larsen is a deep student of Rizal and of Philippine history. That probably accounts for his enthusiasm to encourage research on Philippine studies. Through his personal and official support, there was recently discovered in Panay mountains an original Filipino epic sung for centuries by generations after generations of tribesmen long thought lost but whose descendants are in fact still living and are still singing the epic in a language akin to that used by the people of Indonesia.

This digression may be pardonable, but it is cited here most parenthetically only because it indicates that such a book as *Rizal: Versatile Genius,* written by a campus society called "Students of Rizal," is an effort in the direction of knowing more and more the Philippines and its history.

# # #

ACADEMIC NEWS

Dr. Encarnacion Alzona, a member of the board of governors of the Philippine Historical Association, has been appointed a member of the Board of Regents of the University of the Philippines by President Garcia.

Another governor of the Philippine Historical Association, Fr. Horacio de la Costa, S. J., was recently named editor-in-chief of *Philippine Studies,* published by the Ateneo de Manila.

Prof. Rex D. Drilon, until lately editor-in-chief of the *Historical Bulletin,* is now acting secretary to President Vicente G. Sinco of the University of the Philippines. Prof. Drilon succeeds Prof. Felixberto Sta. Maria, now in the United States for further studies.

Now performing the duties of associate director of the Clark Air Base Branch of the University of the Philippines is Prof. Emiliano L. Laus. He is one of the governors of the Philippine Historical Association.

Prof. Gabriel F. Fabella, president of the Philippine Historical Association, head of the Department of History, U.P., and acting director of the Clark Air Base Branch of the University of the Philippines, addressed the Rotary Club of Manila recently on "The Significance of the Cry of Balintawak." The subject of his talk was the theme of the convention of the Philippine Historical Association this year.

Presently in the United States pursuing higher studies in history are Mr. Serafin D. Quiason and Miss Bernardita A. Reyes, both of the Department of History, U.P. The first is enrolled at the University of Pennsylvania, the latter at Cornell University. Both are members of the Philippine Historical Association and the Phi Alpha Theta (honor fraternity in history). To take their place, Mr. Romeo V. Cruz and Mr. Oscar L. Evangelista have been appointed by the U.P. Board of Regents.

Prof. Nicolas Zafra, president of the Philippine Historical Association in 1958, and Prof. Gabriel F. Fabella recently participated in the proceedings commemorating the Ateneo centennial. The former read a paper on "Priorities for Research on Philippine History", while the latter dealt with "The State of History Teaching in our Colleges and Universities." The papers, which were read during the conference on Higher Education for Philippine Culture, shall be published in the Ateneo centennial souvenir.

Two committees in the Department of History of the University of the Philippines have been appointed by Liberal Arts Dean Tomás S. Fonacier to undertake the preparation of two textbooks for the general education curriculum. Prof. Fabella is the over-all chairman for both committees. Prof. David G. Wico heads the committee preparing a textbook for the history of civilization, with Dr. Guadalupe Forés-Ganzon and Dr. Honesto A. Villanueva as members. Miss Donata V. Taylo and Mr. Napoleon J. Casambre are writing the sections on Oriental culture. Another textbook, dealing in its entirety with the history of the Philippines, is being prepared and written by Prof. Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Mr. Oscar M. Alfonso.

Former President Sergio Osmeña, in whose honor the September issue of the *Historical Bulletin* was dedicated, recently gave a dinner of appreciation and thanks to the officers of the Philippine Historical Association and those who contributed to the success of the September number. His invited guests included Prof. and Mrs. Gabriel F. Fabella, Prof. and Mrs. Nicolas Zafra, Prof. and Mrs. Esteban A. de Ocampo, Prof. and Mrs. Rex D. Drilon, Prof. and Mrs. Celedonio A. Ancheta, Dr. Jose P. Laurel, Senator Pedro R. Sabido, Judge Guillermo B. Guevara, Mr. and Mrs. Federico Mangahas, Mr. and Mrs. Arsenio N. Luz, Secretary and Mrs. Elpidio Valencia, and Mr. and Mrs. Francisco Limjap. Serving as the gracious hostess was Mrs. Esperanza L. Osmeña.

# # #

ANNOUNCEMENT

It is hereby announced with regret that Professor Rex D. Drilon has resigned as editor-in-chief of the *Historical Bulletin*, effective November 1959, on account of pressure of duties as a member of the Political Science Department, U.P. and as acting secretary to the U.P. President.

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**To whom, and to all those who, one way or another, made this issue possible, the* Historical Bulletin *is gratefully indebted.*

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